

Maclean's

NORIEGA'S
LAST STAND IN
PANAMA

Romania Unchained

**A New Coalition
Faces Demands For
Sweeping Change**

**Celebrating The Dictator's Fall
In Bucharest's Palace Square**



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COVER

ROMANIA UNCHAINED

The execution of Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was a bloody climax to a revolution that had taken place with stunning speed. But at the end of last week, as Romanians continued to bury the thousands who had died, the country still faced the possibility of a drawn-out terrorist campaign by militant members of the secret police force, the Securitate.

— 30



WORLD

NORIEGA'S LAST STAND

As U.S. soldiers surrounded the Varadero Embassy in Panama City, deposed dictator Gen. Manuel Noriega was inside, desperately seeking asylum and to avoid trial as a drug dealer. Meanwhile, Panama was returning to normal with most citizens apparently happy with the results of the U.S. invasion.

— 34



THEATRE

PLEASURE PALACES

With the reopening of Toronto's 75-year-old Elgin and Winter Garden theatres, audiences can treat themselves to lavish productions including *The Wizard of Oz*. But the former roadside houses, restored to their original splendor at a cost of \$29 million, almost eclipse the spectacular vintage

— 40



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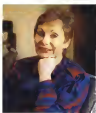


LETTERS

McLAUGHLIN'S APPEAL

At last, a star on the Canadian horizon ("The new face of the 80s" Cover, Dec. 11). Audrey McLaughlin, I hope, will give Canada the kick it needs. Thirty-two may be bad, but nothing compared with Canada's sell-out to U.S. multinationals. With McLaughlin as prime minister, your exquisite talent might return home.

Michael Fisher,
London, England



McLaughlin giving Canada a kick

Audrey McLaughlin says that "Social democracy in Canada and Europe have run governments with balanced budgets." I laugh. Haven't McLaughlin heard of when the IMF left behind once they had finished with British Columbia? Margaret Atwood, Vancouver

Your coverage of the race convention reached a new level of hypocrisy. The fact that Howard McCurdy a black man's super head-on was his attempt at the nomination. By neglecting to mention the race element, you did a good job of taking your head in the sand. Racism is a problem in Canada, to make believe it does not exist is irresponsible.

Carlo Testi,
Greenboro, Ont

DRUGS CROSS RACIAL LINES

Your article "Battle Lines" (Canada, Dec. 11), which described the madhouse of courtroom facilities to the war on drugs, is an eloquent example of the need for action. It would, however, if your article described the four drug peddlers in one incident by their color (black) while failing to mention the color of the customer. Customers keep the business going. The war on drugs has to be fought on all fronts, from supply to demand, regardless of race or color.

Monica F. Cameron,
St. Thomas, Ont

A WELCOME TREAT

As a student in Canada, and as an American, I was impressed by Fred Beaman's "Forgive us if we feel like ghosting" (Column, Dec. 4). An acknowledged enemy to the American government's affinity for self-sabotage and general aversion for consensus is a welcome treat. It is refreshing to have one's own sentiments expressed so well.

Chastine Zolty,
Toronto

harmful to corporate industries whose income is stopped due to deliberate actions on the part of other industries, would it not be far more equitable to have the pulp-and-paper industry pick up the tab for compensation? It would be a small price to pay for past sins. What's more, since the principle of offence-related compensation has been established, it will work in many other such cases, such as the relief of the battered taxpayer.

Buffy Lasser,
Kelowna, B.C.

THE TOLL IN NICARAGUA

I am appalled by the statement in the article "The fight for Nicaragua" (World, Nov. 13) concerning recent contra activities: "Many observers said that those operations appeared to be at a tolerable level." My god, 780 people have been murdered in the past 14 years. What country would tolerate that level of killing? The United States! Canada!

Carl Pylis,
Albion, Ont

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should address all correspondence to: Mailroom, Canadian Press, 100 King Street West, Toronto, Ont M5X 1C7. Please allow 4-6 weeks for publication.

PASSAGES

DIED: Maryann Pearson, 58, the octopole and harmonica virtuoso of Lester B. Pearson, prime minister from 1963 to 1968, and the mother of Geoffrey Pearson, the former Canadian ambassador to Morocco, after a lengthy illness in a Toronto chronic-care hospital. Born in Winnipeg, Pearson met her husband while she was his biology student at the University of Toronto. They married in 1952. While supportive of her husband's successful diplomatic career, Pearson made no secret of the fact that she disliked politics and, particularly, election campaigns. "I'm not for her, she's not for me," joked every successful man, there to a respectful woman.



DIED: Former railway chairman Norrie Roy (Buck) Crump, 85, who joined Canadian Pacific Railway in 1930 as a mailman's assistant, and worked his way up to become president in 1955, after a lengthy battle with emphysema, in his Calgary home. In the 1960s, Crump engineered the latter chapter from steam engines to labor-saving diesel engines that prompted two nationwide strikes.

DIED: Former diplomat and civil servant Pierre-André Bessonneau, 95, deputy solicitor general of Canada from 1977 to 1982 and president of the International Joint Commission, which arbitrates Canada-U.S. cross-border water disputes, from 1986 and 1988, of lung cancer in hospital near his Ottawa home.

DIED: Parson Hill, poet Doug Marjory, 55, after a lengthy illness in hospital near his Montreal home (page 38).

DIED: Irish playwright and Nobel Prize-winning novelist Samuel Beckett, 82, author of the landmark 1952 play *Waiting for Godot*, of respiratory failure at hospital near his Paris home (page 47).

DIED: Former New York Yankees manager Billy Martin, 61, after the pickup truck in which he was a passenger skidded off the road near his Penn home (page 30).

HONORED: British Oscar-winning actress Maggie Smith, 65, named a dame, and internationally acclaimed *Daniel* from author V.S. Naipaul, 57, knighted, in Queen Elizabeth II's New Year's honours list.

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OPENING NOTES

Douglas Cardinal takes a critic to task, W. P. Kinsella gets brushed back, and Thompson, Man., asks for a tax break

ARTISTIC DIFFERENCES

It was no surprise last month when several book critics described the lavishly 150-page volume as a sympathetic and understanding overview of the work of Canadian architect Douglas Cardinal. Indeed, Cardinal, whose Gordian Museum of Ontario in Ottawa was completed last June at a cost of \$355 million, contributed several of his own essays to *Education* author Trevor Boddy's book *The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal*. But this book, which combines a biography of Cardinal with a review of his major Canadian creations, has found at least one vehement critic: Cardinal himself. According to the archi-



Cardinal on stage of approval

test, the book is a whole presents an unnecessarily harsh critique of his work. And he has said that he is especially infuriated that readers might interpret his own contribution to the book in the form of 11 short essays written between 1971 and 1988, as a stamp of approval for the main text. For his part, Boddy defended the book's assessment of Cardinal's work. General Boddy: "Unlike most architectural books, this is not a poppycock." He added that he was surprised when Cardinal notified Edmonton publisher McWatt Press last month that he would not help to promote the book. But Cardinal stood firm. Said the architect: "I thought it would be a book that represented my efforts, when I have done and accomplished. It does not even come close." Some criticism can be easier to give than to receive.

Fictional reservations in the foothills

W. P. Kinsella's 1985 novel, *Shogakukan*, told the story of an Iowa farmer visited by the ghosts of the 1919 Chicago White Sox baseball team—and it was a runaway best-seller. Now, several of his critics say that Kinsella, who lives in White, back near Vancouver, should stick to writing fiction about long-range sports teams—and steer clear of what some have termed the "Shogakukan" or "Shogakukan" writing in his latest book, *The Man Who Wasn't There*. In that work, Kinsella weaves fact and fiction in a series of short stories about native people in the foothills of the real-life Shogakukan reserve in southwestern Alberta. But, according to Alberta native author Loretta Todd, the book portrays native Canadians as "comical, silly balloons." For his part, Kinsella told *Maclean's* that native people "would be not minding" their own literature,

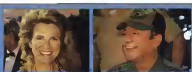


Kinsella: a controversial mix of fact and fiction

rather than worrying about how non-natives portray them. He added that the most attacks on his work have motivated him to respond in the best way he knows how: by planning a seventh book based on native characters.

OF ARCHES AND ENEMIES

Even in the complex world of multinational big business, it seemed like an odd moment. In recent months, rumors circulated in Britain that McDonald's Restaurants was a strong supporter of the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA). The source of those rumors was a program on Atlanta-based Cable News Network, which says British TV satellite dishes can pick up. On the program, McDonald's was cited as a contributor to its U.S. employees' individual retirement accounts—known as IRAs in the United States. Mass communication can lead to mass confusion.



Berges, Norweg: an unusual habit and a regular shipowner

BAD NEWS FOR A DEDICATED FAN

When 9,500 U.S. troops touched down in the country five days before Christmas, Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega's troubles had only just begun. The former dictator fled his presidential palace and later he was found to seek refuge in the Vatican Embassy. But when news reporters gave up, the-estate details of his past peering warms, Noriega had a less-publicized problem that involved one of America's favorite accounts, TV's fictional Murphy Brown. Ac-

cording to a former resident, in recent months Noriega had become a devoted fan of the comedy show, which stars Candice Bergen as a veteran schemer struggling, like Noriega, to stay at the top of her profession. Those accounts added that Noriega has a crush on Bergen's character. In recent months, a friend in the United States had been slipping Noriega videotapes of the show to his official residence. The perks of power are legion.

A hero's stories



Kovic: two movies

The story of gunfire lasted only one scene. But over once the bloody skirmish 22 years ago the cost of Vietnam that left him paralyzed from the chest down, Ron Kovic has fought another battle—the recognition of the plight of American veterans injured in the Vietnam War. Kovic's determination has clearly paid off. Last month, Universal Pictures released the high-budget film *Born on the Fourth of July*, which tells the story of Kovic's tireless fight for the rights of Vietnam veterans. And Universal is not the only movie company with a story about Kovic. According to independent Chicago-based film-maker Lorinda Smith, there are many ideas to Kovic. As well, there is another movie, already completed, which Kovic had intended to release early this year. When executives at Universal heard about Smith's project, they offered her \$50,000 and asked her to delay releasing her low-budget documentary—which shows many from military and civilian families on Kovic's day-to-day life—until next September. Smith said that she was happy with those terms. And she acknowledged that the deal will allow her to distribute her film more widely. Said Smith: "I'm looking at it as a positive thing. And I would rather not speculate on America's motives." Getting the whole story can take time.

Mid-life checkup

It is routinely paired with the word "crisis." But according to Florida social scientist Gilbert Borge, mid-life is actually the happiest stage in many people's lives. Last month, Borge received \$11.6 million from the MacArthur Foundation, a Chicago-based, liberalizing research funding organization, to find out more about what he calls society's "late adolescence." MacArthur president Adam Sikes appeared impressed with Borge's determination. Added Sikes: "This is one of the last uncharted territories in human development." Getting older can mean getting better.

HOPING TO DODGE THE CALL OF DUTY

Finance Minister Michael Wilson announced last month that he would lower his proposed Goods and Services Tax (GST) by two percentage points to seven per cent. But for the Governor of Governors in Thompson, Man., 450 km north of Winnipeg, that concession was inadequate. Last month, outgoing chamber president Loretta Todd formally requested Wilson decrease Thompson's GST-rate. Clarke said the high cost of goods and services in the remote area. Although Wilson's spokesman John Fildhouse told *Maclean's* that the town's chances of avoiding the tax are slim, he conceded that the concept of a geographical exemption was never. Added Fildhouse: "Maybe I could have my apartment declared a GST-free zone."

PRODUCTION-LINE BLUES

When it dawned at Toronto's Festival of Festivals last September, the music *Eiger and Me*, a black comedy about the production line in Flint, Mich., where General Motors Corp. plants began to close in 1986, was an instant hit. Indeed, Toronto audiences voted it Scarborough's best of the festival's best year. Partly because of that success,

Don's producer, Michael Moore, almost immediately struck a multimillion-dollar deal with Warner Bros. to distribute the school documentary in film theatres across North America. But as the movie opened in Toronto last month, more than 100 people there had to be sent to the hospital. The reason: the movie, which costars 3,700 people, was a disaster. One of the film's stars, a man from Scarborough, was killed. Moore: *Now that's* enthusiastic.



Moore: now that's enthusiastic

Most Americans think Canadians are Japanese.



When Maclean's asked Americans to identify their biggest trading partner, 69% said Japan. They were wrong.

Only 12% of Americans knew the right answer: Canada.

Those findings appeared in the recent Maclean's special report "Portrait of Two Nations," an in-depth look at Canadian and American attitudes.

It was a report that gave our readers what one impartial opinion-leader described as "fresh and illuminating insights into a perennially fascinating subject." And it gave our readers information they could find nowhere else.

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Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

AN AMERICAN VIEW



The millionaires of mediocrity

BY FRED BRUNING

Who had greater cause for rejoicing this holiday season, then those lucky kids of baseball's free agency? Dollars were flying in their direction like papers in the four-breeze storm, and the most wondrous part of all was that talent also seemed entirely beside the point. Even more than politics, baseball has decided to march mediocrity—to reward the ordinary and extol the unremarkable and then, in early spring, to parade the sorry results before the public and call it the national pastime.

It is one thing for superstars like Rocky Henderson and Kirby Puckett to be recompensed lavishly, but humble practitioners also have hit the jackpot. Terrell, Gallardo, O'Brien and others whose names rarely are mentioned in connection with Cooperstown suddenly are notorious. Quite naturally, players already under contract take the happy turn of events and deploy their representatives forthwith. Accordingly, Darrell Strawberry, the somewhat right fielder of the New York Mets, announced after a disappointing year that he intends to renegotiate his terms of employment. Strawberry forces a four-year pact worth \$12.8 million—that, or he will depart New Stadium at the earliest opportunity.

Now, as questions of labor-management relations, met must always loom large. Because, as a group, batters are rarely rich by long-class while preaching austerity and who bark out private conversations at will because there is no security in the most important voice to be heard. Supervisors are trained to park their Aulic in contract, executive life is so to avoid the harsh blinks of winter and to dismiss complaints about the ongoing cafeteria at employees' drive-in while leading to the nearest credit-card bureau for hatches that we can hope are lined with debilitating quantities of industrial-grade chocolate.

Baseball teams are owed for the most part by anyone who desires no more conformity. Fred Bruning is a writer with *Norad* in New York.

It is one thing for baseball's superstars to be recompensed lavishly, but now its humble practitioners are also hitting the jackpot

that the Boston Strangler or perhaps government clerk. For evidence, George Steinbrenner is entered as Exhibit A. Here we observe the paradigm of the expensive free chase-bolter, a man who forces himself a prize while fans see only a bag—a rule and costly confusion, jolting Yankee grade as though it were a least of benefits.

How precious is the grip that by tossing such great wads of money around in a vain attempt to buy himself a championship. Steinbrenner has supercharged the market and given even mediocre players the earning power of coke. Thanks to George, quality no longer counts, and most September his own team proves the point. At least let it be said that Steinbrenner has demonstrated conclusively that there is no evolutionary link between money and good sense—only, perhaps, the opposite.

Despite the defections of baseball's owners, "labor" in this instance hardly aspires shorts of celebrity. Players bring home huge sums for services that often go unremembered—refer again to the case of Spike Strom—while the nation all the while should be up and at it. A fellow named Tony Phillips paraded his yearly salary of \$436,000 into \$1.5 million upon

signing with the Tigers. Steve Davis earned \$454,800 with the Oakland A's but this season will draw \$3.2 million in Kansas City. Ponder the cases of Phillips and Davis the next time you get pined over for a merit raise.

Thus revealed in the free market at its best, Teachers, social workers, cops and firefighters can barely enough to pig the rest and survive the supermarket. Facing first-aiders and anxious slappers are rewarded beyond their wildest dreams. Strawberry, too, has created his own system of supply and demand—a marketplace economy where money is never an object. "It's like this great credit card in the sky, and everybody keeps drawing on it," said Sandy Alderson, VP of baseball operations for the A's. The scheme is brilliant. If only the quality of play were as good.

Alderson's image suggests a day of reckoning, but justice may never prevail. Television continues to provide the owners tremendous revenue and so, of course, do these hapless remnants who bridge through the landscape. Sadly, when in the dimmed skies is less compelling than a corporate board meeting, and with good reason. Chaps have passed to call their brokers than cover second may not exactly wear the crown. When a strike is the subject of adult chatter and the Dow Jones replays daily headlines, the once-glorious game is sure to suffer. Soon, we learn, sportsbooks will flash Wall Street quotations and a shout of "Charge!" from the faithful will just prompt the boys in bankers to rush away and buy on margin.

New York congressman Stan Hoenig virily suggests that Congress create a mechanism for redistributing baseball's loot to Americans who deserve a little extra something in their paychecks. "It would be dedicated to restoring respect for a good day's work wherever it takes place—made as comely a ball park." The idea has sentimental appeal but lacks utility in realistic application. Years would pass before lawmakers took the necessary steps. Great fortunes would be spent on studies and hearings. All the time, players and owners would be accumulating billions worth and the price of blender sales would rise to a half-price's per.

Waiting for Congress is out of the question. Congress must wait the necessary. They must work themselves into a righteous frenzy. They must compile an all-time volume and march through the streets and backstage a predilection of banana cream pie. If owners and players want only to reward one another for service and gratitude, let them do so until a blizzard of costard and with masses who deserve plugging their ears.

But we can act now. On the first day of the new season, let the great ball park of the land be empty. Let the chaff words of early spring whistle through the winds. Let batters kneel and rolls go stale. Let beer keels go green and profits grow. Let the Steinbrenners and Strawberry push their hands and grand stanzas call for understanding. Let them say: "Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio?" and let silence be their only answer.

READY AT THE GATE

With his folksy style, Ontario Treasurer Robert Noon is one of the Liberal party's most popular and respected figures—and a powerful political ally. So, last month, when the former Ontario Liberal leader hosted a private reception for federal party leadership hopeful Jose Chretien, 46 of the 64 Liberal MPs and cabinet members attended. The event was designed to show the extent of Chretien's support in Ontario. But the signal was blunted a week later when many of the same people attended another Toronto reception, that one for Chretien's principal rival for the leadership, Montreal MP Paul Martin Jr. Both of them have been campaigning actively, though unofficially, ever since Liberal leader John Turner announced last May that he planned to step down. But, as the Toronto events demonstrated, many Liberals remain reluctant to support either of them in the party's June 23 leadership convention in Calgary. "It was interesting to see that Bob Noon has come out for Chretien," noted Kingston MP Kenneth Keyes. "But I, for one, am not prepared to say who I will back."

The pressure on Keyes and other Liberals to declare their support is sure to intensify this month as the leadership candidates finally enter the race formally. The contest still has only one declared candidate, backbench Scarborough MP Thomas Wappel. And more than a year of unofficial—and expensive—campaigning. Martin is tentatively expected to announce his candidacy on Jan. 28, with Chretien likely to follow on Jan. 29. But many Liberals across the country remain disenchanted with the acknowledged guest contenders. For some, Chretien's misadventure there may not be enough to overcome his affiliation with what they consider to be a spent generation of political power. To others, Martin, an MP only since the November, 1986, election, has so far failed to carve out a distinctive national profile.

But whatever peering exists for attractive alternatives clearly remains unfilled by the other possible candidates. With Lloyd Axworthy from Winnipeg, Brampton's Sheila Copps and Toronto's Dennis Mills, and former federal cabinet minister Donald Johnston, from Montreal, and former Quebec

AS THE LEADERSHIP RACE MOVES INTO HIGH GEAR, MANY LIBERALS ARE UNMOVED BY THE CANDIDATES

environment minister Clifford Lewis, also from the Montreal area. "Many Liberals still sit at home with their hands wringing to see if someone else emerges," acknowledged one Martin supporter. The name most frequently mentioned, Ontario Premier David Peterson. Publicly, Peterson has rejected the over-

tures—while his supporters carefully keep the door open. "The pressure on David is too enormous," said James Paterson, the premier's brother and a federal Liberal MP who was once considered to be in Martin's camp but who now claims neutrality. For his part, the 46-year-old Ontario premier repeatedly says that he is not interested in entering federal politics. But, despite the fact that on premier he became prime minister in the past 34 years, the pressure on him remains.

The various second-tier aspirants continue to gauge the extent of their potential support—and their ability to raise enough money. They will face slick, expensive campaigns from the well-funded Chretien and Martin camps, both of which are expected to spend right up to the \$1.7-million limit set by the party. Axworthy supporters say that the Winnipeg MP has raised \$206,900 of the \$1 million they calculate is needed to run a campaign. Said one Axworthy adviser, "Honestly, we are all competing for third place on the first ballot." As for Lewis, his immediate hurdle is the Feb. 12 federal by-election in Chatham, Que., in which he is the Liberal candidate. Even his supporters say that Lewis, little known outside Quebec, will have to win that election if he hopes to build a broad base of support nationally.

For the Chretien and Martin camps, the past six months have been spent building national organizations capable of withstanding the extraordinarily long race. Martin's strategists have attempted to offset their candidate's weak national profile with regional networks cultivated during his years as a backroom party broker. As well, Martin's rivals have not taken him to 300 of the 376 federal ridings, by his campaign committee's order. Said Martin campaign manager Michael Robinson: "The clear objective was to get Paul Martin onto as many ridings as possible."

It is still difficult to measure as a credible force, the Martin team moved quickly to try to outflank Chretien. They were first to book key convention locations and hotel rooms in Calgary—then offered them to the party for distribution as a favor. Martin's advisers also maintain that they caught the Chretien forces off guard by getting a head start among ex-prime Minister



Chretien plenty of charisma, but criticized in part of the Liberal old guard

to campus clubs—a claim disputed by Chretien's team.

For their part, Chretien's supporters—largely confined since his 1984 campaign, in which he finished second to Turner—have organized a campaign. His committee succeeded in having the credentials of 20 Ontario ridings drawn to support Chretien set early dates for their delegate selection. The aim, said Chretien supporters, is to create momentum by the appearance of an early Chretien victory in Ontario. As well, Chretien forces have attempted to undermine his preparation for leadership by leaking stories about former external affairs minister Mitchell Sharp and other senior Liberal leaders as key allies.

But as in Quebec, that Chretien may face his most daunting challenge. For months, his voters have struggled—and controlled—over how definitive a win Chretien should take against the Meach Lake constitutional accord. On the few occasions he has spoken out on the Constitution, Chretien has expressed the view's provision that gives Quebec status as a "distinct society." Some always want that as a

prerequisite to Meach Lake points will cost him support among Quebec Liberals who overwhelmingly embrace the accord. Others have amplified Chretien to make the lead of the form opposing the deal. So far, Chretien has chosen to say little. And, even in what his aides are telling as a major speech on the Constitution to be delivered early this month, Chretien is expected to avoid specifics.

Even whether a constitutional position is enough to satisfy Liberal delegates will become clearer in Toronto on Jan. 28, when the candidates gather for the first of six scheduled all-candidates debates. Chretien, who has been set of active politics since 1986, will have to prove to Liberals that he is still politically astute. And Martin will have to display the substance and stature that the party clearly craves. Should these men stumble in the coming months—and none of the other candidates rise up to fill the void—the search for an heir apparent may develop into more than a mere thing.

BY KAY KELLY AND BRUCE WALLACE
ON PUBLICATION WITH PAUL KRAMER IN TORONTO

National Notes

A BREAK WITH TRADITION

Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé, who will step down later this month, broke with the tradition of political impartiality and used her first New Year's address to make an unprecedented plea in behalf of the Meach Lake accord. Otherwise, that Canadian only in its own terms. It is based on a defined leadership, South and Canadian to accept "the inevitable compromise" and unify the record.

REVIEWING THE RAFFERTY

Responding to an expectation sought by the Quebec Wildlife Federation, the Federal Court of Canada ruled that the federal government must set up a panel within 30 days to conduct a full environmental review of the \$125-million Factory-Ianthe Dam built by the Saskatchewan government on the Saginaw River. The same court had rejected the project's license after an earlier challenge by the federation. But Federal Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard ordered the license on Aug. 31, after a review held by a civil servant.

CHARGES AFTER A FIRE

A Toronto man faces three counts of second-degree murder following a fire on Dec. 28 in a downtown shopping hotel that killed at least nine people and left 60 other residents homeless. The fire started when a pile of garbage was set alight in a hallway. Police said that Gordon Freeman, 48, a tenant at the rooming house, may face further charges since the fire died, left a victim.

REJECTING A VIA CUTBACK

The British Columbia Supreme Court ruled that the federal government must shut down a 112 km section of the Kootenay and Nanaimo Railway on the east coast of Vancouver Island as part of nationwide cuts to Via Rail passenger service that are to take effect on Jan. 25. The court ruled that the success of the railway, completed in 1986, was part of the compact with British Columbia agreed to give Confederation and that it must be operated in perpetuity.

GAMBLING FOR HEALTH

Church groups endorsed the opening of a government-sponsored gaming center by a Winnipeg's 18-parish Holy Family. The table games and slot machines at the \$5-million Crystal Casino, which is being run by the provincial government through the Manitoba Lotteries Foundation, are expected to generate about \$10 million a year in revenue that will be used for provincial health-care programs.



Martin's backstage contacts, but no national profile

A master plan

Mulroney promises a leaner civil service

Frustrated by years of working in Ottawa's infamous bureaucratic labyrinth, Geoffrey Paquet left his job as a public affairs adviser at Labour Canada in 1987. Then, with the help of another former federal employee, Paquet founded Public Policy Forum, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated in part to encouraging private sector solutions to government problems and policy making. "Performance and reward are not linked," said Paquet, who worked for the federal government for 12 years. "Instead, the whole system is geared to spending more money." Now, after two years of lobbying the government for reforms, Paquet and that he is convinced that the public service—well elected officials—are listening to those criticisms. On Dec. 12, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced that the government would undertake the first major overhaul of the bureaucracy since the 1960s, and bring "a leaner and meaner" public service for the 21st century. Said Paquet: "We have started the pot."

In fact, a decade of studies and lawsuits have concluded that the 211,000-employee federal civil service—the country's largest single employer—is in dire need of revision. Critics have repeatedly charged that the public service is top-heavy, understaffed and resistant to new ideas. "For a bureaucracy, there is nothing more painful than living in a world that is meaningless, and yet that is exactly what much of the civil service does," said a senior consultant, Nicole Morgan, author of three books on the federal public service. For their part, civil servants have complained that Tiny-busted budgets cut and the elimination of 15,000 jobs since 1984 have undermined their morale. Still, the public perception is that bureaucrats are too slow, too inflexible, too wasteful, too inefficient. A former deputy minister of Employment and Immigration who left government in 1986 after 18 years and is now Quebec president of Western Electric, "I noticed a growing loss of credibility with the public as served. Bureaucracy attracted criticism."

Indeed, recent studies reveal a litany of

bureaucratic redundancies and red tape that have strangled worker initiative. Because the system for job classification has become so complex, outside consultants must sometimes be hired to write job descriptions for postings. As well, government officials say that in some departments, even simple decisions must filter through nine separate levels of upper- and middle-level management before approval is

made. "To do that, Mulroney ordered nine deputy ministers last month to conduct studies across the entire public service and make recommendations on how to eliminate red tape, lower operating costs, and modernize management practices. He asked that they report to clerk of the Privy Council, Paul Toller, Ottawa's top civil servant, by the spring of next year. Legislation can be introduced during the next session of Parliament. As to whether the seriousness of the government's

commitment, Toller invited Ottawa journalists to a breakfast meeting to outline the plan, rather than announcing the initiative in a release. In a sign of such signals, many government members have greeted the proposal with enthusiasm. "There has been study after study dealing with the public service, and none of them ever amounted to much," said one senior minister. "Most of them died on the table."

Whether that is the fate of the most recent initiative will be determined in the next months of government during the coming months.

There is also little agreement on how to implement the Mulroney government's proposed public service reorganization. But government sources indicate that the Conservatives want to decentralize and streamline

federal departments without eliminating any more jobs. As well, they plan to simplify decision-making and offer greater authority and accountability to individual departments. That public sector issues have changed the effort in part of the Mulroney government's declared intention to privatize and contract out many government services. They say that it may make the civil service more vulnerable to political interference and head lobbyists and consulting groups even more influential. Said author Morgan, "If you have everything in the hands of the private sector, you are going to create a massive patronage machine that will turn back the clock 100 years."

Not surprisingly, many civil servants blame the Prime Minister for the public sector's low morale. In 1983, Mulroney campaigned for the leadership of the Tory party by promising to give civil servants in Ottawa "pink slips and running shoes." When the Conservatives were elected the following year, Mulroney delivered up his campaign trade gap by ordering 15,000 jobs cut. But the mood in Ottawa is clearly changing. "The Mulroney government has looked the bureaucracy" and Bruce Dorn, a professor of public administration at Ottawa's Carleton University. "Now, they are doing something to make sense."

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BY KAYE PETERSON with LISA RAY COHEN and ANDREW CLOUTIER in Ottawa



Dominion special immigration rules for construction workers in booming Toronto

Passage to Portugal

Bogus refugees get help to return to Canada

The sporter office without even a sign on its door is tucked away on an upper level of the Galleria shopping mall in Toronto's west end. Still, each day a steady stream of young Portuguese construction workers manage to find their way to its bare, fluorescently lit waiting room. There, a few days before Christmas, half a dozen of them, all bogus refugee claimants, started appearing in Portugal again as they awaited their turn for immigration counselling—and a unique opportunity to give legal status in Canada. One of them, who gave his name only as Jo, is a 20-year-old backslider who entered Canada four years ago by making a false refugee claim. Now he is agreeing to return voluntarily to Portugal—rather than face deportation—but expects to be back in Canada quickly. The nearest the Galleria office, providing a free counselling service headed by several construction unions and the Toronto-area home-building industry, has helped him prepare an application for permanent residence and supporting documents, which he will present to a Canadian visa officer after he lands in Portugal. "They said I would be back here by spring," said Jo.

In fact, Jo is one of as many as 5,000 bogus refugee claimants from Portugal that the office expects to process in the same manner during the next two years. The arrangements are part of a special program among rarely mentioned

employment certificates and the discretionary powers of immigration officers in Portugal to ensure that workers can return legally to jobs in the Toronto area's booming building industry. Ministry of immigration officials agreed to the program last October after months of negotiations with representatives from the Toronto Home Builders' Association, an organization of about 900 developers, building and real estate firms. Macklin's has been in details of special measures that the government has introduced to make it easier for any Toronto-area construction worker caught in Canada's refugee backlog to re-apply from his homeland to become a permanent resident in Canada. Although the offer is technically available to any nationality, it applies almost exclusively to Portuguese refugees, who held almost all of the lower paying jobs in the Toronto building trades. Said immigration lawyer Richard Dunsier: "It is a political deal."

The arrangement appears to contradict an announcement by Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall in December, 1988, that the government would conduct a case-by-case review of the backlog of 120,000 refugees built up since the mid-1980s—and deport any bogus refugees. Last spring, Toronto's Portuguese construction, labour and trade unions mounted an extensive lobbying effort, arguing that deporting the

workers would exacerbate the chronic labor shortages that have plagued the Toronto area's building sector. The government's settlement last October did not guarantee that all of the refugees who regularly would be accepted as landed immigrants. But ministry assurances have prompted industry officials to predict that most of the workers will be back in Canada by the end of 1990. "We are satisfied with the arrangements," said Anthony Dunsier, Toronto president of the Labourers' International Union of North America. "After all, the workers did come here legally. Ottawa has saved the construction industry from a crisis."

Still, the agreement has drawn criticism from some immigration experts. Dunsier, for one, says that the government is being hypocritical in denouncing the workers to return home—and should instead grant them an amnesty. "For each one that gives home the government can say, 'See, the refugee clearance program is working,'" said Dunsier. "But the only way that Ottawa is getting the Portuguese to leave is by giving them a deal they can come right back. It is a false amnesty." Added lawyer Courtney Byrnes, who represents many refugees from Africa, who do not have access to a similar program: "For McDougall to help a group based on their ethnicity, which she has done, is greatly unfair."

So far, the Galleria mall office has arranged for the return to Portugal of 380 refugees. Under the agreement with the immigration department—which has promised to send a senior officer to Lisbon to process the cases—the workers will have their applications for permanent residence heard within six months. They still must meet requirements under Canada's point system, which many would normally find difficult because of their limited education and skill levels. But the ministry has ensured that each worker receives a Points 340-3233—a refund of the employment certificate—before leaving Canada. That document alone gives them an automatic 10 of a required 70 points. As well, according to one building industry representative, senior immigration officials have privately assured employers that overseas visa officers will use their discretionary powers to support the workers' applications—essential for many applicants who lack sufficient points, even with the 2131 form.

Still, immigration department spokesman Milton Reid assured that the Portuguese are not getting special treatment. "We are not saying there is a shortage of construction workers and cutting back up," said Reid. "They're not getting a leg up at all." Meanwhile, Toronto home-builder representatives Karanas Aca said that, in addition to the illegal claimants, there are 7,000 Portuguese construction workers who are waiting for grants—and see no reason to leave to negotiate with Ottawa to have them included in the program, not while that is taking place. Jo and his colleagues will be reapplying themselves with their boyfriend home in Portugal—and waiting for a chance to return to Canada.

PAUL HAMILTON



WORLD

THE LAST STAND

Nestled amid palm trees and protected by a 18-foot-high brick wall, the two-story Vatican Embassy in Panama City is normally as quiet as a library. This station at the embassy last week, however, was anything but normal. With the full support of his superiors in Rome, Papal Nuncio José Sebastián Laboa was playing host to one of Latin America's most brutal and despised fugitives, deposed Panamanian dictator Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. And while Noriega loomed inside the mission—reportedly carrying arms—U.S. troops stalked out the surrounding streets and rooftops, firing sniffs of bullets were in an effort to foil Noriega's escape should he attempt to leave the compound. Three days into the siege, the soldiers stepped up the pressure by blasting Noriega's refuge with around-the-clock amplified rock music and news reports describing him as "a common criminal at the worst level." Then, the crisis broke when both Noriega and Noriega interviewed officials in the digress.

The standoff was only the latest demonstra-

OSTED DICTATOR GEN. MANUEL NORIEGA DESPER- ATELY SOUGHT ASYLUM INSIDE THE VATICAN EMBASSY

tion of Noriega's ability to outfox and outmaneuver his adversaries. For almost two years, the Panamanian strongman had ignored two U.S. embassies accusing him of complicity in the international drug trade. In October, he crushed a bloody takeover attempt by more than 100 junior officers—in large part, some rebel army officers—conspired, due to the failure of the military support to provide sufficient military support to the attempted coup

Then, on Dec. 20, President George Bush launched what he called "Operation Just Cause"—a full-scale invasion designed to remove Noriega from power and take him to the United States to stand trial. Instead, the 50-year-old dictator slipped out of sight until Christmas Eve, when he appeared at the Vatican Embassy and was granted temporary refuge.

In Washington, a White House official said that the United States was pulling "very hard indeed" to convince the Vatican to hand over Noriega. He added that, as long as the deposed dictator remained a fugitive, he would pose a threat to Panama's newly installed civilian government, led by former opposition leader Guillermo Endara. "The war Noriega lost because he would cause trouble whenever he goes," White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater told reporters traveling with Bush on a hunting and fishing vacation in Texas. "We want him in a nice jail where we can keep an eye on him." Endara himself sent a letter to Pope John Paul II asking the Roman Catholic Church to release Noriega in order to "save

innocent Panamanian lives." Turning Noriega over to the Americans, the letter added, "would guarantee his security and, presumably, bring him to justice for the common and despicable crimes of which he is accused in that country."

None of these appeals seemed to have much effect. At one point, Archbishop Monsignor McGrath of Panama suggested that a deal might be worked out that would take into account concerns about Noriega's potential threat to his political opponents. Said McGrath: "As Panamanians, we fear that, if he were somehow free abroad, he would begin to stir up trouble again within Panama." But the Vatican's chief spokesman firmly rejected the U.S. tactics and insisted that the church would not deliver Noriega into U.S. hands. "An occupying power cannot interfere with the work of a diplomatic mission," Joaquin Navarro-Valls said, "or demand that a person who is seeking

throwback to the days of gutshot diplomacy in Moscow the next day, the Soviet foreign ministry called on U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock and demanded that the embassy withdraw all American troops from Panama.

Meanwhile, U.S. troops sparked another diplomatic dispute on Friday night when they raided the residence of the Panamanian ambassador to Panama, Antonio Ferrer. Acting on a tip from a Panamanian officer that the house contained a large arms cache, U.S. Southern Command spokesman Col. Ronald Scoopes said that troops searched the residence and found an arsenal of grenades, antitank weapons, U.S. submachine guns, assault rifles and small arms. The troops quickly returned the weapons and apologized to Ferrer. This was followed the next day by an uncharacteristic expression of regret from Bush who called the raid a "mistake" that should not have happened. Nevertheless, in reprisal for the raid,



Children arresting leaders: Vatican Embassy entrance: "occupying power"

apologize they be handed over to it." He added that the pro-Panamanian in Panama City was trying to convince the former leader to leave the mission voluntarily, "but he cannot leave Gen. Noriega to leave."

On Friday, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution demanding the U.S. military intervention in Panama as a blatant violation of international law. By a vote of 113 to 30, with 40 abstentions, it endorsed a document similar to the one renewed by the United States, Britain and France as the most politically powerful Security Council work order. Nicaragua, Cuba, Venezuela, Ghana, Vietnam and Peru joined the Soviet Union in denouncing the U.S. invasion. Even Costa Rica, usually an ally of Washington, criticized the intervention as a

Panamanian President Daniel Ortega ordered 20 U.S. diplomats expelled from Managua. Ortega also announced that the foreign mission would reduce to 100 from the current 200 the number of Nicaraguan nationals allowed to work in the U.S. Embassy in Managua.

Although the Vatican's refusal to hand over Noriega clearly left the White House frustrated, most analysts said that the church had little choice but to grant the deposed Panamanian's request for refuge. To do otherwise might open the Vatican to charges of political favoritism, because Endara himself had asked for and received sanctuary at the pope's summit's residence in early October, when Noriega threatened him with violence. At the same time, say deacons to deliver Noriega into U.S. custody

World Notes

A KILLER EARTHQUAKE

A powerful earthquake measuring 5.5 on the Richter scale rattled Australia's southeastern industrial city of Newcastle, killing at least two people, injuring more than 140 others and causing more than \$1 billion in damage.

HEALING A RIFT

Egypt and Syria resumed high diplomatic relations 12 years after the two countries severed ties in a bloody, intense dispute. Egypt's peace overtures towards Israel. The decision was announced after Egyptian Prime Minister Anwar Sadat met with Syrian President Hafez Assad in Damascus.

OPPOSITION LEADER CHARGED

Philippine nationalists charged opposition leader Juan Ponce Enrile and five others with involvement in last month's coup attempt against President Corason Aquino. More than 100 people died in that rebellion. Enrile, a leader of the popular revolt that ousted former President Ferdinand Marcos in February, 1986, denied the charge.

CONTROVERSY IN ISRAEL

South African anti-apartheid activist Archbishop Desmond Tutu, on a Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, urged Israelis to forgive the Nazis perpetrator of the Holocaust. He also criticized the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinian in South Africa's treatment of its blacks. His comments raised a storm of controversy among Israelis and American Jewish leaders.

ARMED SCANDAL

Prime Minister V. P. Singh announced that India will not buy any more arms from the Swedish Bofors company until it returns those Indians to whom it allegedly paid out of millions of dollars in kickbacks to win a 1986 arms contract. The Bofors scandal played an important role in the defeat of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's government in general elections last month.

CONFRONTATION IN JERUSALEM

More than 4,000 Israeli, Arab and foreign women marched through Jerusalem's city-center, demanding that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem be ended and called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. When some of the demonstrators raised the outlawed Palestinian flag, police fired tear gas on the crowd, which dispersed. At least some of the women had arrested 16 of days.

would be sure to arouse widespread resentment elsewhere in Latin America. With rare exceptions, government and church officials throughout the region have criticized the U.S. invasion of Panama as an unwarranted interference in that country's domestic affairs.

By contrast, most Panamanians appeared grateful to Washington for toppling Noriega and replacing him with a civilian government. And they expressed optimism that, with U.S. assistance, the country's battered economy would begin to recover from years of rampant corruption and mismanagement. "Thank you, God, for George Bush," said Alexander Alfonso Ballea, 28, whose home is in the run-down El Chorrillo district of Panama City. Two Noriega cronies, heavily fortified concrete headquarters, was burned to the ground during heavy fighting in the first hours of the U.S. raid on the capital. Three days later, Ballea and dozens of his neighbors were still picking up through-the-curtain remains of the richly walled apartment buildings that had been their home. "I lost everything, but still I do not care," he added. "Never had such a my life, but Bush will give us freedom. And not only, I am sure."

In all, our writers estimated that the invasion had cost the lives of about 1,000 civilians, as well as about 300 of Noriega's troops and 23 U.S. soldiers. Most of the casualties were among Panamanian forces, who had the misfortune to be caught in the cross fire between U.S. and pro-Noriega forces.

"It was the poor who suffered most from that bastard, and we paid out of the cost of getting rid of him, too," complained Herminio Quintero, who said that his 25-year-old nephew had been contemptuously shot and killed by U.S. troops guarding the Cuban Embassy. In Quintero's case, his son had been combed by hurricane-force winds but had been told that his nephew would be buried in his own plot, but when she arrived at the site, the man of Peace cemetery on the outskirts of the city, she discovered that the body had instead been deposited in a mass grave along with an estimated 255 others. "How could they just dump him in there like that?" she cried, shaking on the grave site. "I want them to dig him up and give him a body."

Although few Panamanians appeared to regret Noriega's arrest, there was little public display of resentment against the troops that had helped to keep him in power; the 15,000-member Panama Defense Forces. Several thousand anti-air and weapons of the now-disbanded forces raised a demonstration, holding up signs that read "We are not in their old identity cards and police replacements proclaiming these to be members of the newly created Public Forces of Panama, which include police and security. And that exchange of U.S. was almost the only thing that had made any difference in the lives of the poor and the poor. We have the same cars, same cars, same cars."

Only the name has changed," said Capt. Luis Donadeo, former commander of the Defense Forces' 2nd Company. During the invasion, he said, he sent half of U.S. troops for control of Tocumen Airport, on the eastern outskirts of the capital. A few days later, they were sent for new equipment before being sent on joint patrols with U.S. soldiers.

Meanwhile, U.S. troops were under or-

der that it had asked Switzerland, Brazil, France and Luxembourg to freeze bank accounts controlled by Noriega and his family, which the Bush administration alleges contain a total of more than \$12 billion. According to American officials, Noriega received the money in return for helping in ship deals to the United States from Colombia. Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Canadian government said

that Ottawa had agreed to help the United States to discover whether Noriega had deposited any money in Canadian banks.

For Panama's new government, however, Washington's continuing military involvement in that country is at best a double-edged sword. Privately, an aide to the new president told McClure's that it was doubtful whether Noriega and his followers would be able to remain in power for long once the U.S. invasion force leaves. But as long as U.S. troops remain in the country, Noriega will be open to charges that his government is less popular than a puppet of the Bush administration.

A former labor lawyer, Echarri is supported mainly by middle-class merchants and professionals in the capital. But he is less popular among poor Panamanians, many of whom admired Noriega because of his willingness to confront Washington over such issues as the future of the Panama Canal. Echarri's claim to the presidency rests on the fact that he is widely considered by impartial international observers to have won last May's presidential election against Carlos

Duque, a longtime Noriega ally. Noriega later declared that result unfair, a step that prompted widespread protests throughout Latin America and around the world. That analysts say the fact that it took a measure of U.S. invasion to install Echarri is the presidency—following a \$12-million campaign—deserves to be questioned. Washington has treated the new leader in the eyes of many of his fellow Panamanians as little more than a puppet to reverse the country's sheltered economy, he may succeed in ending the foreign trade and support. For now, however, the actions of Echarri's government is as unclear as the fate of the man he succeeded.

By the sheltered economy, he may succeed in ending the foreign trade and support. For now, however, the actions of Echarri's government is as unclear as the fate of the man he succeeded.

BIGG LAYER with JOSEPH GANDON in Panama City and WILLIAM LINTWIR in Washington



Noriega (below): "The poor suffered the most"



THE SOVIET UNION

Tumult in the Baltics

Lithuania's revolt enrages the Kremlin

The show of defiance by tiny Lithuania seemed like a small, tentative step compared with the cataclysmic changes that have swept through Eastern Europe in the past few months. But all of the tumult with, varied organs and democratic

the unprecedented step of abolishing a section of its constitution that guarantees the supremacy of the Communist party. At the same time, it legitimized the existence of other political parties, the first time since 1945. The Soviet Democratic Party, known as the



Parliament members in Vilnius voting to break with Moscow; accusations of voting dishonest

reform in some other countries had not provided the anger of the Kremlin as did the Dec. 20 decision of the Lithuanian Parliament to turn its own independent Communist party into an independent party. The first session of the parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev accused nationalist groups in the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia of attempting to "tear up" the Soviet Union and "in so doing, destabilized and destroy" it. Later, a closely studied and angry last week as similar reforms began to take shape in Latvia. On Dec. 28, the Lithuanian parliament voted 220 to 50 to abolish the constitutional supremacy of the Communist party in that republic. The legislation of other parties was scheduled for consideration at the next session of parliament on Jan. 10.

Meanwhile, there were scenes of wild jubilation in Lithuania's capital of Vilnius after the

independence. The reforms shocked Communists in the Soviet Union, who are acutely aware that the creation of an independent Communist party under the Soviet Union is the first session in the non-Soviet Soviet Communist party since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. As a result, the Soviet government has begun to voice its deep opposition to the possibility that the Baltic republics might secede from the Soviet Union.

Concerns in the Kremlin went markedly last week as similar reforms began to take shape in Latvia. On Dec. 28, the Lithuanian parliament voted 220 to 50 to abolish the constitutional supremacy of the Communist party in that republic. The legislation of other parties was scheduled for consideration at the next session of parliament on Jan. 10.

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inconclusive Central Committee meeting in Moscow. According to an aide to Lithuanian Communist party chief Algirdas Brazauskas, 40,000 people gathered in downtown Vilnius to show support for the party's reforms. "Without question, this decision has made the party more popular," said the aide. According to officials, the period of anger granted by Moscow will give the newly independent party an opportunity to consolidate its slumping support. They said that the party badly needs that support if it is to perform well in Lithuania's multiparty elections scheduled for February.

And the celebrations, some observers reported, accompanying expressions of concern that the Lithuanians might be underestimating the depth of Soviet anger. That anger, analysts said, could lead to a general crackdown in the Baltic states. All three republics have popular nationalist movements that promote political and economic independence from the Soviet Union. Moscow views such independence, if it should occur in the Baltic region, as a major threat to its domination over the ethnically diverse Soviet Union. In an attempt at appeasement, last November Gorbachev granted the Baltic republics greater freedom to experiment with market economies. In exchange, the Soviet president said that he hoped that the reforms would dissuade the three republics from pressing for dramatic political reforms.

That strategy has not proved effective. And the present strategy of the Baltic republics to move outside the Soviet orbit have driven strong attacks from the Central Committee. After the Lithuanian parliament issued an August report that called the 1946 annexation of the Baltic states illegal, Gorbachev said that the three republics "must not think about secession." Gorbachev has argued that the Baltics are different from the Western European countries because they are an integral part of the Soviet Union. And a front-page editorial last week in the Communist party newspaper Pravda condemned the reforms. Disputed Pravda "We have reached a dangerous line, and we must not in front of us put an end to methods and manifestations and not to methods of pressure, blockades and force."

So far, Gorbachev has managed to avoid such tactics, and it is clear that he is hoping for a negotiated settlement to the dispute. But with the urgency of nationalist forces pressing him on one side, and Kremlin hardliners' demands that the Soviet Union remain intact on the other, he may be facing the most precarious balancing act of his career.

MARCELA CHESKOLM with GARY GOLDSTEIN in Moscow and correspondents reports



country still faced the possibility of a crowd-out terrorist campaign by militant members of the late president's well-armed secret police force, the Securitate. And in spite of offers of aid and support from Western countries and the establishment of a provisional government that pledged an end to Ceausescu rule and free elections in April, the political future of the country remained under a cloud. But even the doubts could not dampen the joy expressed by many over the end of the Ceausescus: era. Said Mihail Iacob, 40, an engineer at the Romanian national television station: "I don't think we realize yet what has happened. It is difficult to take it all in."

Crackdown: That sense of disbelief was evident throughout the world as observers contemplated the speedy fall of Ceausescu's regime. Rumors, which had been dismissed by about 40 members of the Ceausescu family, had appeared impressive to the wives of reformers that emanated from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policies and in rural succession toppled the hard-line Communist regimes in other Eastern Bloc countries. And when anti-Ceausescu demonstrations first broke out in the Transylvanian city of Timisoara (population 250,000) in mid-December, the government's brutal crackdowns actually made the chances for reform appear slight.

But last week, the Ceausescus were dead and their son, Nicu Ceausescu, 23, was in custody. Zina Elena, wife of a custody, was arrested. Zina Elena, wife of a custody, was arrested. Zina Elena, wife of a custody, was arrested.

Soldiers take cover during fighting (top left); fleeing sniper fire in Palace Square (above); and burning Ceausescu's picture (the left); change is accompanied by bloodshed

Soldiers had also arrested Ceausescu's mother, Elena Ceausescu, her son Emil, and one of the deposed dictator's sons-in-law. And last Thursday, one of Ceausescu's first brothers, Mircea, 74, was found dead in the basement of the Romanian Embassy in Vienna. Mircea Ceausescu had worked in Vienna as chief of the Romanian Trade Agency since 1974 and was reportedly a charge of Romania's secret police activities in Western Europe. Vienna police said that he had apparently committed suicide by hanging himself.

The events leading to the downfall of the Ceausescu family began on Dec. 13 when about 200 people gathered in Timisoara in an effort to prevent Securitate forces from arresting pastor Laszlo Tibalt. A member of Romania's approximately two-million-member Hungarian minority. Tibalt, an outspoken advocate of human rights, had criticized Romanian leaders and demonstrators against the country's Hungarian minority in a Christmas-made documentary aired on Hungarian television in late July. The show of support for the minister quickly developed into a mass demonstration in thousands of Romanians of all ethnic groups joined the protest.

Surrounded: Security forces responded by going on a rampage. In the bloodbath that followed, they fired indiscriminately into the crowd, killing hundreds. But, despite the repression, the protests continued—spreading from Timisoara to other Romanian cities and finally to the capital, Bucharest. Ceausescu attempted to give a televised speech as a rally in Bucharest on Dec. 23, he was shouted down by protesters—with Romanian state television broadcasting the clear look of shock on his face. Then, security forces turned automatic weapons and tanks on the defiant demonstrators, killing several people and wounding many others.

As the rebellion intensified, some units of the regular Romanian armed forces began siding with the insurgents. On Jan. 18, 1989, 23 rebellious forces overpowered the Romanian state television station in Bucharest. Resistant Free Romanian Television, the station quickly became the nerve center of the revolution—and then the provisional government. Inside, a group called itself the National



COVER

ROMANIA UNCHAINED

**A NEW COALITION
GOVERNMENT
CONFRONTED
DEMANDS FOR EVEN
MORE LIBERTY**

Eyes glimmered in death, a tuff of gray hair, a profile of blood—the picture of executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu broadcast over Romanian TV last Tuesday marked the bloody close to an already violent revolution. But it was a climax that had come with stunning speed. A mere week after anti-government demonstrations first broke out in the northwestern Romanian town of Timisoara, Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, fled the capital of Bucharest when army units joined the rebellion. That same day, Dec. 23, the couple was captured and on Christmas Day went before a military tribunal that accused them of genocide and plundering more than \$1 billion from the country. But during the two-hour trial, Ceausescu, the self-proclaimed Genius of the Carpathians, defiantly challenged the tribunal's authority. "I am the president of Romania," he shouted. "I will only answer to the working class." Then, with the sentence passed, he and his wife, who served as the country's deputy prime minister, were led to their deaths at the hands of a three-man firing squad.

Army officials said that about 300 soldiers had volunteered for the assignment—an indication of the deep-seated hostility towards Ceausescu instilled by the end of his reign over 34-year Socialist regime (page 24). And after the relatively violence-free ground swell of reform that had swept through Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, the Romanian uprising was a clear reminder that change is often accompanied by bloodshed. At week's end, as Romanians continued to bury the hundreds who had died, the

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY REMAINED UNDER A CLOUD

Salvation Front appealed for popular support, saying that Ceausescu had been overthrown and announcing that they were forming a provisional government (page 28). On the way, army units fought pitched battles with Securitate forces attempting to reoccupy the streets. But the efforts failed, and the nation continued to broadcast 24 hours a day, leading the revolution.

Meanwhile, when crowds attempted to storm the Great Committee building on Dec. 22, Ceausescu and his wife fled, escaping from the road as their white presidential limousine attempted to take advantage of the unrest to travel from there to another country. But when they landed, a group of peasants surrounded the aircraft, preventing the Ceausescus from escaping until troops arrived. Then, the officials added, on Dec. 23, at 4 p.m., the couple was summarily executed outside of the Baneasa military barracks. The next day, Romanian television began broadcasting edited versions of the trial and execution of the executed dictators.

Execution. That measure was designed to convince Securitate forces that further struggle was pointless. In fact, fighting began to taper off although, at times, it ended, and, again, the conflict still raged in Bucharest. For its part, the provisional government gave the Secur-

itate members until 5 p.m. on Thursday to surrender or face execution—while the army battled itself for an anticipated left-dictatorship by Securitate members against the TV station. The deadline passed without incident, and off-



Televised picture of suspected Ceausescu death on Christmas Day

icals said that thousands of secret police had surrendered or been captured. But as officials continued to be transported to armed personnel-campers, it remained clear that the Securitate still posed a threat. "There are still Securitate bases," said General Ionescu, a member of the National Salvation Front. The provisional government had little case as overwhelming many of Ceausescu's most hated laws and decrees. Some of the changes were symbolic—Romanians would no longer have to address each other as comrade and the Com-

munist party emblem was dropped from the national flag. But other changes were to the heart of Romanian life. In the early 1960s, Ceausescu began exporting much of the food grown in Romania, the proceeds being used to pay off the country's \$20-billion foreign debt. Because of strict domestic rationing, fresh fruit and vegetables were almost unavailable to ordinary Romanians, while pigs' feet became one of the few meat items still stocked in stores. But last week, the new government announced that food previously scheduled for export would be made available to Romanians instead.

That change was immediately felt in Bucharest, where people flocked to the stores to buy items that for many had become nothing more than a distant memory. Along with meat and vegetables, they also discovered a chance to buy more exotic goods, including chocolate, oranges and bananas. "We used to spend our time trapping the stores looking for something to buy," said Maria Băncă, 60. "We would walk and fight the animals. Now I can take chocolate home for my grandchildren."

Reform. Other changes were said to dismantle the new government announced and to start abortion laws that had been in place since 1966. Ceausescu had imposed the law, applying to any women who had fewer than four—later increased to five—children, to increase the country's population, which now stands at 23 million. And the new assembly decreed an end to Ceausescu's hated modernization policy, under which villages were razed and people resettled in urban centers.

But criticisms against the new government already began to be heard. Among the complaints, some members were former Com-



Bodies in Bucharest morgue: a time of grief as weary citizens gathered to bury their dead

munist party officials, including new President Ion Iliescu, a personal friend of Ceausescu's, who had fallen out of grace with Ceausescu. "A lot of the people in the new government are oldtimers who were into Ceausescu but were misled," said the Communist party's, said one Western diplomat in Bucharest. "A lot of younger people meant that."

For their part, many foreign governments quickly recognized the new National Salvation Front government—and pledged aid to help the country recover from the devastation of revolution. The U.S. state department requested American support for "the newly constituted Romanian government and its commitment to democratic reforms." As well, Washington pledged nearly \$100 million in relief. Other countries offering aid and humanitarian aid to Romania included Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Spain, Iran and Israel.

Violence? Or was it too quick to publicly state its support for the new Romanian government. On Dec. 23, the day that Ceausescu was forced to flee Bucharest, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark made a statement welcoming the government's overthrow as a "joyous moment for all Romanians and Canadians who held dear the values of human life and liberty." Clark also announced that Canada was giving \$500,000 for emergency medical supplies to Romania. Spokesmen for Romanian Canadian organizations quickly thanked the government's contribution as an "unselfish" gesture that far more was needed. But External Affairs spokesman Mark Ratneski said that Ottawa has offered to provide future assistance. "If there are any specific requests, they will be considered," Ratneski said.

Still, some foreign governments acknowledged that they were concerned about the arbitrary manner in which the Ceausescus had been tried and executed. But, for the most part, the criticism was muted—a sign that govern-

ments were trying to set themselves apart from a regime that many of them had previously opposed because of Ceausescu's unwillingness to follow Moscow's line. For one thing, Romania enjoyed most favored nation trading status with the United States for most of the past decade, a privilege that was finally withdrawn in 1989 because of Ceausescu's evident human rights violations. And in late 1988, when the Ceausescus visited Canada, Gov. Joe Jeanne Scott remarked during a ceremony for the dinner that Canada was "particularly honored" by his presence.

Earlier, in 1978 and 1982, the Crown Prince, Prince Carol, former King of Rumania, had signed contracts to help Romania build two 688-megawatt CANDU nuclear reactors as part of that country's long-term plan to build five reactors at a site near Gomova, 150 km east of Bucharest. Last week, those projects became the subject of concern after reports that Securitate forces intended to attack and capture the construction site. But the attacks did not materialize. And Michael Hilbert, Canadian relations manager for Atomic Energy, told Maclean's that the rumors are far from conclusive because, under the terms of the agreement, the Romanians themselves are in charge of construction. "They are going at their own pace," Hilbert explained. And, he added, "even if there was an invasion, it would be in a big reconnaissance site consisting mainly of people carrying."

In Bucharest, meanwhile, Romanians began to denigrate the youths of the Ceausescu regime. In the national history, workers were

being removed for delinquent behavior, which had occupied an long shadow. "No one ever said this stuff, no one," said Virgil Tiberiu Ionescu, the library's director of acquisitions. Parents by spot on the bulletin of Securitate considered killed during the fighting with the army. And people saved the country's red, yellow and black flag—with piping holes in the middle where the Ceausescus had once lived.

Gold. The new authorities also allowed Romanians a glimpse at the wealth amassed by the Ceausescus at a once white ely in the country were in the shape of a television. One broadcast on Romanian TV took viewers on a tour of Ceausescu's daughter's summer house in Bucharest. It showed that Zina

Dănilă had owned gold plates, goblets and carboys, a jewelry and jewelry shop, the kitchen featured a solid-gold sink and a package of imported wool—which the monster said had been intended as dog food. But the main attraction was the 40-room presidential mansion, dubbed the "palace of madness" by the new government. Among the riches: Oriental carpets, cabinets full of solid-gold and silver ornaments, solid-gold bedframes, flowers and original paintings plundered from the country's museums. Said one young army officer who lives with his wife and child in a cramped apartment: "When I saw what was here, it was unbelievable."

But for many Romanians, last week also was a time of grief as they gathered to bury their dead. At week's end, at a makeshift cemetery in the suburban town of Baneasa, the coffins continued to arrive. Until Tuesday, the space had been a children's playground. Now, a swing set still standing provided an eerie contrast to the dozens of freshly dug graves. Among the mourners was teacher Elena Popescu, a cousin of 31-year-old mechanic Starke Bălanescu who had died during the Dec. 22 battle around the



Tălcău criticized abuses

television station. "Stolen was one of the best ones," Popescu told Maclean's. "His blood is the price of our liberty. So we must have real freedom—and we cannot afford to let this down." At 34, after 24 years of brutal repression, it appears that Romania is on the verge of a new, and uncertain, era.

FEETER KOPPELBERG AND ANDREW PINELLAS in Bucharest. **ROSS LARSEN** in Ottawa and **WILLIAM LOWMYER** in Washington

FALLEN DOMINOES

- **Aug. 19:** Poland announces its first non-Communist-led government since 1945.
- **Oct. 7:** Hungary's Communist party formally disbanded.
- **Nov. 9:** East Germany opens the Berlin Wall.
- **Nov. 10:** Bulgaria's Communist party overthrown. Todor Zhivkov's 36-year rule ended.
- **Nov. 23:** Czechoslovakia's Communist party overthrown. Alexander Dubček ousted.
- **Dec. 22:** East German leader Erich Honecker ousted after a week of bloody uprisings. Romanian dictators overthrown. Nicolae Ceausescu, dictator since 1965.



LIFESTYLE OF A DESPOT

THE GOLDEN DAYS OF NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

The reign of terror that ended last week after 24 years had earned Nicolae Ceausescu, the nickname of Vampirescu, an alliance to the Court of Dracula legend of Transylvania. Last November, against the tide of democratic reforms sweeping the rest of Eastern Europe, Romania's Communist party congress re-elected Ceausescu, 71, as its leader for a sixth consecutive term. But last week, as the same tide swept through Romania, few mourned the sudden and violent end of his despot's rule—especially amid allegations about his socialist private life and disclosures of his extravagant personal tastes. "Oh, what wonderful news," said a Bucharest radio announcer after the report that the new transitional government had executed Ceausescu and his wife, Elena. Added the announcer: "The Antichrist died on Christmas."

Activities: Born in 1918 in the rural village of Scorniceni, Ceausescu was the third of 10 children. After attending only four years of elementary school, he became an apprentice to a shoemaker. At 14, Ceausescu got involved in the country's burgeoning workers' movement and soon after joined the outlawed Communist party. Romania's bloodiest regime arrested him in 1936 and sent him to the notorious Dabulva Prison in Bugeac. There, he started a cell with George Gheorghiu-Dea, who later became postwar Romania's first legitimate Communist ruler. Ceausescu became Gheorghiu-Dea's political heir, rising quickly through the party ranks and succeeding his mentor upon his death in 1965.

Throughout his reign, Ceausescu was a master of Eastern Bloc politics. He helped President Richard Nixon plan his groundbreaking visit to China in 1972 and was warmly received by President Jimmy Carter in Washington in 1979 and by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa in 1985. As well, Ceausescu's regime sold gasoline and meat to the Soviet Union at a steep discount. In a ceremonial speech at the Warsaw Pact, Ceausescu refused to join its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He also denounced the 1979 Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and barred Soviet troops from Romania.

But these victories also took a toll on the increasingly economic decline. Ceausescu conducted a bizarre cult of personality in Romania—pe-

ters of himself and his wife were on display across the country—and he imposed a ruthless economic policy on his 23 million subjects. Obsessed with eliminating the \$10-billion debt he incurred in the early 1980s, he began exporting the bulk of Romania's produced goods—even food. Meat, electricity and gasoline were severely rationed throughout the country. To save energy, Ceausescu reduced television programming to

most powerful person in Romania. The Ceausescus' son, Nicolae, was the Communist party secretary in the Transylvania city of Sibiu. Their daughter, Zina Elena, was the director of the Institute of Mathematics Bucharest. And while some Romanians lived in poverty, the Ceausescus surrounded themselves with luxury. The dictator and his wife lived in a sprawling 40-room mansion with a swimming pool, a



Faithfully chosen photo of Ceausescu and wife Elena: allegations of family sex orgies

two hours nightly, the first of which was devoted to praising his accomplishments.

Tactics: Ceausescu's firm grip on power was secured by the Securitate, his devoted secret police. Securitate agents, many of whom were reportedly recruited from orphanages, indoctrinated, trained and organized into subterranean units, ruthlessly repressed dissent. Romania TV monitored in Vienna last week showed what newspapers called a former Securitate "barbaric chamber" in Targu Jiu. It's theorized what we see in this horror movie, a commensurate and, "Colonized bodies, pieces of hairy scalp, blood and tortured bodies lying on the floor. These are nightmarish images."

Ceausescu's origin was a family affair, with about 40 relatives enjoying high positions. Elena Ceausescu's maternal uncle was party and government boss and became the second-

besting ring and volleyball and tennis courts. Journalists touring the compound last week saw rooms crisscrossed with suitable paintings and closets stuffed with expensive Western-made clothing. And the West German newspaper Bild Zeitung said that Ceausescu had a huge collection of pornography: films and claimed that he enjoyed watching home movies of family sex orgies.

The new government last week announced the arrests of several family members, bringing the open-organized Ceausescu dynasty to its agonizing end. But after a quarter-century of repression, most Romanians expressed quietest about the future. "We don't know what to do," said Bucharest student Juliana Frana. "We must now learn how to be free."

ANDREW BILSKY with correspondents reports



COVER

A TROUBLED PAST

OLD FACES FILL THE ADMINISTRATION

I was a score of jubilant shouts when Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu fled his presidential palace on Dec. 22, ending his brutal 24-year reign. Rumors circulated in the streets, converging below the balcony of the Central Committee building in Bucharest. Later, at the national television station to the north, an eerily crowd of freedom fighters, artists and disenchanted Communists and military leaders loudly roared with turns at first of the country to democracy the Ceausescu regime. Out of that confusion emerged a coalition calling itself the National Salvation Front. And last week, the front began appointing a provisional government with 50-year-old Ion Iliescu, a former senior Gorbachev party member who had fallen out of favor with Ceausescu, as president.

Struggle: At least 30 countries, including Canada, recognized the new leadership last week, and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message congratulating Iliescu, whom he first met as a student at Moscow. In taking "charge of the country at a difficult moment," said some Romanians expressed outrage because so many of the new leaders are still Communists. On Dec. 26, a crowd of angry Romanians, raising clenched fists and waving national flags with the familiar four colors when the Ceausescu party symbol had been, demonstrated outside party headquarters in Bucharest's Palace Square, shouting "No more Communism!"

For their part, leaders of the provisional government insisted that they were making a complete break with the past. "Romania is no longer a Communist country," Demetriu Mihail, vice-president of the provisional government, declared last week. "We will create a new democracy." Iliescu repeatedly stressed that his administration was only temporary and promised to hold free elections next April. But Western observers said that last month's rule he too short a time to form credible opposition parties. Under Ceausescu's repressive rule, only a handful of dissidents dared to oppose the dictator openly. As a result, there was no organized opposition like Poland's Solidarity.

Brexit (left) and Roman promising free elections



Dissidents and military officers take over Central Committee offices above

trade union movement. "This is one of the tragedies of Ceausescu," said Aurel Berca, a political science professor at the University of Toronto and specialist in Soviet-Eastern European relations. "He destroyed political alternatives, and there is now a leadership vacuum."

Smash: Western commentators also pointed out that it would be difficult to exclude all Communists from government because as many as 2.6 million of Romania's 23 million population are party members. Added Berca: "The only people who have political experience are Communists or former members of the party." Still, last week, at least 30 new political parties emerged. Doina Cornea, one of Romania's leading dissidents, reportedly helped to found the Christian Peasant party. Another fledgling party, the Romanian Democratic Party, announced its formation on Christmas Day, and the party's leader, Viorel Cristescu, pledged to smash the Communist hold on power. But when some members of the party went to the national TV station on Monday afternoon, army members refused to give them access. Complained Dr. Christian Radulescu: "These are the first days of liberty, and already they are suppressing it."

Only on Tuesday after party members protested at Palace Square, did the front allow the Democratic Party to make a TV statement.

The highest-ranking members of the new provisional government have long-standing connections with the Communist party. New Prime Minister Petre Roman, a 43-year-old professor of engineering, is the son of a prominent Romanian Communist, who was chief of staff in the Romanian army and telecommunications minister

before taking out of line with the party leadership. He was named to the daughter of a former Romanian ambassador to Switzerland.

Vice-President Iliescu is also a Communist and former diplomat who was put under house arrest in 1986 after he inspired a report for a 1983 human rights conference in which he was sharply critical of Ceausescu. Iliescu said that the new government will not include people who collaborated with the old regime. Added Iliescu: "Such people are not our class, we will not work with them."

Hunt: But others took a more intransigent line. Minister of State in the Foreign Ministry Corneliu Bogdan opposed for civil and asked Romanians not to turn against Romanians just because they had worked for the Ceausescu government.

"They are not all criminals," Bogdan said. "We want try to avoid a withdrawal at any cost." Bogdan was an ambassador to the United States in the 1970s, but fell out of favor in the early 1980s after his daughter, who had married an American citizen, decided to remain in the United States.

Iliescu himself was a staunch Ceausescu supporter in the 1960s, when he was head of the Communist youth organization and a member of the top party leadership that he was demoted in 1971 following disagreements over the dictator's style and his plans of reform. He joined the new government with Ceausescu in the early 1980s. After he was in 1985,



Civilians cheering soldiers in Bucharest taking arms to denounce the Ceausescu regime

Western experts said that Ceausescu was secretly trying to promote Iliescu to a successor to Ceausescu. Iliescu had been under house arrest since last March, when a senior party official, with whom he was closely associated, signed an open letter to Ceausescu, criticizing him for betraying Marxism.

Protests: In a speech last week, Iliescu pleaded for national unity. "If we do not manage to consolidate the unity brought about by this spontaneous process of the masses," he said, "then naturally this will be our great weakness." But he may find this only empty words. Western experts said that Iliescu, like many of the new government leaders, is a reformist

Communist in the mold of Ceausescu. "They may be politicians," said the U of T's Brana, "but they may not be interested in abandoning communism." And, he added, "I doubt that the population, putting an end to the Ceausescu regime with this great sacrifice, would accept a government that is only reformist." Romanians' previous government will likely find that the people, like their counterparts in other Eastern European countries, will demand a definitive end to Communist rule.

MARY NEMETH with ANDREW PHILLIPS in Bucharest. PHOTIA CHIRONOM in Timisoara and correspondents report.

PRAGUE'S CHOICE TAKES OFFICE

It was an extraordinary reversal of fortune. Just seven months ago, Václav Havel languished in a Czechoslovakian prison, accused of "criminal behavior" because he had tried to criticize his country's regime. But last week, the Czechoslovakian parliament unanimously elected him president, and, on Jan. 28, 1989, he took office as a 50-year-old politician who was a reformist in 1975 attacking the Communist regime, told cheering crowds in the center of the city that he would raise the country's standards for human rights and to preserve "the clean image of our secret revolution."

His nervous and chain-smoking, Havel seems an unlikely statesman. He has said that he prefers his work as a playwright to politics and has often declared, "I want to be a hamburger rather than a king." But his rise to power follows a striking pattern: he was a Communist regime. He was born in Prague on Oct. 5, 1929, the son of a wealthy building contractor. He was denied access to university, but pursued writing. His plays portrayed the daily lives of ordinary citizens pretending to conform to a Communist system that they do not in fact accept. After the Warsaw Pact

armies in 1968, rather than being Havel's jailer, he was named to his job as a resident playwright at a Prague theatre. Havel went to work in a laboratory in an assistant and in a brewery, and he became increasingly outspoken. In 1977, he co-edited Charter 77—the first human rights movement in the Soviet bloc. Since then, he has served a total of five years in jail for his human rights activities.

When Czechoslovakia took to the streets in November to oust the old Communist regime, Havel was quickly propelled to center stage. As president, his duties will be largely ceremonial, but he will have the power to dissolve Parliament. And, although Czechoslovakia will hold a majority in Parliament, Havel's great moral authority in Czechoslovakia will clearly allow him to play a critical role in shaping the country's democratic future.

MARY NEMETH with JEFF KERNICK in Prague

THE CHILLING SECRETS

A VISIT TO THE SECURITATE'S HIDEAWAYS

Moldova's *London Bureau Chief* Andrew Phillips, who has reported extensively on the sweeping changes that have taken place across the Eastern Bloc in recent months, travelled by train through Romania last week. In the capital, Bucharest, he found a city in the grip of revolution. His report:

Hidden amid a cluster of crumbling palaces at the southern edge of Bucharest's built-up area, the Securitate Palace Square

is a concrete trapdoor covering a hole in the ground. When soldiers opened that door last week, they pointed an astounding glimpse into the dark inner world of the forces that kept Nicolae Ceausescu in power for almost a quarter of a century. The hole was an entrance to the once secret network of underground tunnels beneath the streets of Bucharest maintained by the Securitate, the reformed security police whose last ditch stand in defense of their leader turned much of the capital into a labyrinth.

Larking: Entering the tunnel involved climbing 25 feet down an iron ladder set into the wall of a concrete shaft. I went down along with two young Romanian soldiers who warned that "terrorists," their word for Securitate members, might still be lurking below. We studied along for 30 yards in two small rooms before reaching a narrow corridor running under the square. The tunnel was one of several linking Bucharest's old royal palace to the building that, until the people's uprising of Dec. 22, housed the offices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. During the fierce fighting that followed, the soldiers said, security troops took to Ceausescu used the passageways that only they knew of to hide weapons and to move from place to place.

The existence of such tunnels had long been rumored in Bucharest—a city where the old regime had guaranteed suppression of information under more than a way of life. Kader Rado, a young sergeant guarding the square last week, explained that even the army did not

know exactly where the hidden tunnels were. "We could not believe that these things really existed," he said. "We were astonished when we found out how extensive they were." When asked about Ceausescu, Rado said "This man was scared of the people. He wanted to be somewhere far from his fate."

Aboveground, Palace Square provided ample evidence of the destruction of Ceausescu's acts. Both the old palace and the Central Committee building facing it were covered

burned that melted was covered the cobblestones to a depth of more than six inches. Close to Palace Square, people threw money into a basket in the center of one street. A young woman employing the basket explained that the money would be used to build a monument to the dead. "Their names must not be forgotten," she told me. "We won't let it happen."

Grassroots: Despite the defeat of Ceausescu's forces and the death of the dictator himself, Bucharest still had the feel of a city under



Army and civilians on victory parade: an astonishing glimpse into Ceausescu's dark inner world

with bullet holes and scoured by the fires that broke out at the height of the fighting. The famed library of Bucharest University, at the southeast corner of the square, was worst hit. It was almost completely burned out, its priceless collection of new manuscripts destroyed by flames or by the water poured in to quench the fire. The old building's iron domes were reduced to stark iron shells.

Shells: In the streets leading off the square, clusters of shells marked places where people had fallen trying to army or Securitate bullets. At some of the makeshift altars stood crosses bearing the name of a slain person. At other spots, mourners had placed wreaths, and so many candles had been

lit at week's end. Army troops and civilian volunteers ransacked dozens of checkpoints throughout the city, stopping cars and searching for weapons. And there were some gruesome reminders of the Romanian Revolution from Timisoara had come at a much higher price in blood than that of any of the other Eastern European countries that freed themselves in 1989. Outside the sprawling headquarters of the defense ministry in the western part of the city, army troops displayed the severed heads of five slain Ceausescu loyalists on their tanks. It was designed as a stark warning to any others who might contest their fight—but it was also a shocking sign that the violence of the old regime had infected the entire society. □

POLICY IN THE FIRE

JOHN CROW FACES GROWING CRITICISM AS HE FIGHTS TO CONTROL INFLATION WITH HIGH INTEREST RATES

Now a leader who may be home, Bank of Canada governor John Crow is under fire in Canada for his stubborn war on inflation. Exporters and opposition politicians complain that Crow's high-interest-rate policy has pushed the Canadian dollar to a near-year high, pricing Canadian goods out of foreign markets and forcing the country's balance of foreign trade into a \$621-million worldwide trade deficit for the month of October—the first in 13 years. At the same time, union leaders blame Crow's policies for the thousands of workers who have reacted by laying off as recent strikes. But through it all, the head of Canada's central bank claims no sign of weakening. Says Crow, "If we are to turn inflation around, it is critical to persevere on the current path." But Canadian exporters' Association president James Taylor replies, "John Crow's single-minded pursuit of inflation is disastrous."

With the economy finally slowing, the industry against Crow's policies will likely get even louder. Canada's top banker has proven himself a tough opponent of inflation, using high interest rates to dampen consumer borrowing and spending in order to prevent prices from rising. Last week, by keeping the bond-selling Bank of Canada near unchanged from the previous week at 12.47 per cent, Crow gave every indication that he is holding firm on his tight course. But critics say that his unwillingness to abandon his campaign against inflation in spite of a spiking recession in the economy, a soaring dollar and a plunging real income could put Canada into a painful recession, which occurs when the two consecutive quarters the gross domestic product (the value of all the goods and services produced in the country) registers only negative growth, after adjustment for rising prices.

Indeed, most economists now predict that Can-

ada's core will show little growth in 1990. Last week, Statistics Canada reported that October's GNP declined by 0.3 per cent, the first monthly drop in seven months. Overall, the most optimistic economists predict that Canada's economy will grow by only about two per cent in 1990, compared with a projected 2.7 per cent for 1989 and 5.6 per cent recorded the preceding year. Worried Bank of Canada executive vice-president and economic adviser at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, "Mr. Crow has to steer a very careful course."

Indeed, the 59-year-old banker has been walking a tightrope since he became governor of the Bank of Canada in February, 1987, after six years as deputy-director under the low-key, but sometimes-controversial, Gerald Bosty. Born in one of London's poorer districts, Crow studied politics, philosophy and economics at Oxford University before joining the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as Washington Today. In 1981, he was with his wife and two children in a comfortable stone house along Ontario's Rideau Canal, where he takes his daily carna-

The document, Multi-speaking Crow's con-

tinued early 1980s, Crow has consistently used the Bank of Canada's powers to interest rates high and credit tight in an effort to keep the Canadian economy from overheating once again.

Crow's high-interest-rate campaign has enjoyed unwavering political support from Prime Minister Michael Wilson. And like his U.S. counterpart, Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan—who is also under pressure to change course—Crow says that if he succeeds in curbing inflation to a manageable level, he will leave the economy's health in the long run, even if the short-term pain includes large-scale layoffs across the country.

But after nearly three years on the job, he has still not declared victory in his war on inflation. Indeed, Statistics Canada reported last month that the inflation rate edged up one-tenth of a point in November to a 5.5 per cent annual level, compared with an annual rate of about four per cent when Crow stepped into the governor's office. On Dec. 14, a day before the latest inflation figures were released, he told the Winnipeg Chapter of Commerce that it would be "un-

derstanding" and "misguided" to reduce rates as long as inflationary pressures exist in the Canadian economy.

Most businessmen and economists, however, say that Crow's economic policies are hurting the whole economy at risk. Canadian consumers and some companies benefit from a strong dollar because it makes imported goods less expensive. But critics argue that high interest rates responsible for the strong dollar have caused plant closures and layoffs by drive-

"Crow has lost sight of the fact that the president has swung too far in his effort to control inflation at any cost."

Evidence supporting the exporters' case is growing. For one thing, thousands of layoffs have been announced in recent months. The Big Three North American automakers together have given notice to more than 107,000 U.S. workers and 33,000 in Canada will be laid off temporarily this month with further 5,200 General Motors Corp. auto workers to be laid off either temporarily or permanently in February and March, as manufacturers halt production to control growing inventories in a slumping auto market. And analysts say that even temporary layoffs will damage the Canadian auto-parts sector and stockholders.

The pain has spread to other industries. At 3 p.m. on Sept. 20, about 200 workers at the Outboard Marine Corp. of Canada plant in Peterborough, Ont., went on a 24-hour strike. The plant engineers told that the manufacturing operation would be closing for good in early 1990. Outboard Marine's U.S. management had decided that it was simply cheaper and more profitable to shut down the Peterborough manufacturing plant, which manufactures engines and fuel tanks, and to shift the assembly work to facilities in the United States, Belgium and Hong Kong. Sent Paul Clark, a 50-year-old tool-and-die maker at a grim unemployment "12 is waiting to leave a place where you have worked for 31 years."

And there are other warning signs of an expanding slowdown. Canadian factories reported an 8.7 per cent of sales capacity in the third quarter, which ended last Sept. 30, down marginally (0.6 per cent) from the previous quarter and 2.4 per cent from the same period a year earlier. Canadian retail stores saw a sales decline of \$129.7 billion for the first 16 months of 1989, up five per cent from a year earlier, but not keeping pace with inflation—and even Christmas purchases, once they are finished, are unlikely to give retail sales the momentum inflation needs.

Declared Leonard Rubin, president of Rubin Research Consultants, a Toronto-based firm specializing in the retail industry: "More than anything else, consumers over-laying will be damaging retail sales."

At the same time, the prospects for future growth also appear to be waning: investment in new machinery and equipment dropped to \$4.39 billion in the third quarter of 1989, down 4.6 per cent from



Bonnie Day shoppers spending weakens

ing up costs for manufacturers and reducing expenses by making it more expensive to borrow money to invest in new machinery and equipment.

The strength of the Canadian currency also hurts exporters by making their goods more expensive in the United States and other critical foreign markets. Business economists estimate that every one-cent rise in the dollar costs Canadian companies between \$1 billion and \$3 billion a year in lost export sales. Said Michael McCracken, head of the Ottawa-based economic forecasting firm Information Inc. and a vocal critic of Crow's policies: "The question is how much the Bank of Canada is willing to raise unemployment to keep inflation under control."

Added Mark Drake, president of Electro-Vent Ltd., a Montreal-based company that manufactures and supports equipment for the elec-

Crow refusing to panic



Business Notes

HOLLINGER UNDER FIRE

Revo Finkel, editor of Toronto's influential *Star* newspaper, fired, resigned, and accused the publisher appointed by Hollinger Inc., its new Canadian owner, of interfering in editorial operations. At the same time, Hollinger, backed by Toronto's financial community, sold its five per cent stake in Southern Bell. At more than \$160 million, *Star* speculates that it may try to take over the Toronto-based publishing giant.

SOARING STOCK MARKETS

Despite October's raw crash, stock markets around the world closed on the low end of their trading day of 1989, up sharply from their 1988 year-ends. The Toronto Stock Exchange's 300 index closed at 2969.74, up 39 per cent for the year. The Dow Jones industrial average in New York City closed at 2755.36, up 26.9 per cent for the year and up 58.58 points below its all-time high of 2859.05. In Japan, TSE-100—where the market closed 10 per cent higher than its end of 1988—legislators' debate, rising stock transactions took a look at the floor of the nation's parliament.

SOUP HITS TO SELL STAKE

Three months of former Campbell Soup Co. chairman John Dorrance, who died last April, announced that they intend to sell their 17.4 per cent stake in the family-controlled company, holding speculation that it will soon become a takeover target. Dorrance's two sons and his daughter—who control 82 per cent of the firm's stock—have vowed to keep it independent, but the three sons want Campbell's board of directors to consider any bid offer for the company.

EASTERN TO CUT 600 JOBS

Financially troubled Eastern Air Lines Inc. announced that it will eliminate 600 jobs as of July 1 and reduce employee wages and benefits as a result of the sale of its Latin American routes to American Airlines. The airline's chairman, Robert Crandall, said Eastern's \$445 million for the Latin American routes and other assets.

AMERX TO SELL SUBSIDIARY

The American Express Co. reached an agreement to sell its Canadian-based private banking subsidiary—American Express Bank—to another Swiss bank, Compagnie de banque et d'investissement, for about \$1 billion. The sale of the firm, which has assets of about \$12 billion, ends a six-year effort by American Express to break into the world of international banking in Switzerland.

the previous three months. From more worrisome is the \$421-million merchandise trade deficit for the month of October. Canada's first since 1976. And if Canada's soaring deficit does not decline, exporters warn that the trade deficit may worsen.

Some economists, however, point out that the trade deficit may be only a temporary phenomenon as exporters and importers adjust their business practices to accommodate the changed dollar value. And there are other hopeful signs for beleaguered Canadian exporters. Last week, the U.S. commerce department reported that its index of leading economic indicators—the U.S. government's main forecasting gauge of economic activity—expanded by 5.3 per cent last month, which analysts interpreted as a sign that the American economy will slow in 1996 but not trigger into a recession. As a result, U.S. demand for Canadian products could remain stronger than recently expected in the coming year.

But, for the moment, exporters say that their principal concern is still the high Canadian dollar. Propped up by a Bank of Canada rate of 12.47 per cent, compared with the cross-sitting discount rate of seven per cent in the United States, it has attracted foreign buyers to Canadian interest-bearing securities. Altogether, those flows have contributed to keep the value of the dollar at over 80 cents against its U.S. counterpart, compared with 77 cents at the end of 1995.

That has caused headaches for firms like Electrowest, which uses a shortfall in export profits of \$15.5 million in 1996 because of the higher dollar. Electrowest's Mark Devlin said that the Canadian dollar cost limit is a more reasonable level—about 80 cents U.S.—if the company's Canadian operations are to remain competitive and Canadian jobs safeguarded. And Electrowest's Toronto president of U.S.-based States Steel—a division of Steelco Inc.—which earns 15 per cent of its \$27 billion in annual sales revenues in the United States. "The high Canadian dollar limit is a bit."

And should interest rates remain high, executives with Canadian companies say that they may move their firms to the United States, where the freer rate for the best customers of commercial banks was 14.5 per cent last week—three percentage points lower than it is in Canada.

But in spite of the growing pessimism, Crow says that he will not be panicked into shifting his course. The self-confident governor seems steeled on staying the high-interest-rate course. As far as the unemployment crisis is concerned, the only acceptable solution rate is that they have to get it down to 10 per cent. Letting rates fall will add all the inflationary pressures have disappeared. But, with the economy slowing down and unemployment less lengthening, his determination to stay the course is apparently about to be put to its toughest test.

JAMES DUNSTON with MICHAEL HARRISON in Toronto



Burkey and his tomatoes: "This is the worst I've seen. I've lost everything."

The South's big chill

A brutal cold snap raises produce prices

It was one of the worst cold snaps to Florida's history. And even so, winter's icy grip on the Sunshine State relaxed last week, it was clear that North American consumers will be paying higher prices for months to come for Florida oranges, lemons, grapefruit, citrus, tomatoes and other winter produce as a result of the devastation wrought by the big cold. Roughly 80 per cent of Florida's citrus crop will sit on the trees when temperatures dropped below the freezing point on Dec. 23. When the deep-freeze ended two days later, the record-low temperatures had transformed the state's acreage into a disaster area. And Florida Gov. Robert Martinez declared a state of emergency after losing the devastated orange belt.

Last week, the first economic aftershocks of the disaster spread southward, as the commodity-price exchange in New York City climbed to \$1.59 per pound from \$1.58 at the beginning of the week. The price jump prompted the government of Brazil—the world's leading orange-pulp exporter—to temporarily halt exports on the assumption that prices would stabilize at a higher level. Meanwhile, wholesalers said that the devastation will cause the prices of oranges and other produce on Canadian supermarket shelves to begin rising as early as this week because of the out-of-stock situation of fresh produce.

For farmers in Florida and other southern states such as Texas and Louisiana—which

produce the majority of tomatoes, zucchini, peppers and green beans for Canadian supermarket shelves in December and January—the destruction was annihilated and almost total. As the temperatures dropped, Frederick Burkey, who owns a lemon acre in Stuart, Fla., learned as he walked to his tomato plants by completely covering them with snow. But his efforts—like those of many other farmers—were unsuccessful. Said Burkey: "This is the worst I've seen. I've lost everything."

Produce prices at the wholesale level spiked up almost immediately in response to news reports of the disaster. In some cities in the United States, citrus fruit prices soared by as much as 70 per cent last week. In southern Ontario, which currently exports about 30 per cent of its citrus crop to Canada during December and January, the wholesale price of a 25-lb. box jumped to close to \$24 last week, up from \$18 before the freeze-up. Said one Toronto wholesaler, who asked not to be identified: "There is almost no produce available. And that is available, they're trying to get to much as they can for it." He added that Toronto's private will not begin to deal until crops are harvested in Mexico in February.

By week's end, temperatures in Florida rose to above 28°C, but it was too late to reverse the damage wrought by the cold snap, and too late to prevent the higher prices that North American consumers will face in coming weeks.

JOHN DAILY

Narrowing the gap

Employers struggle to establish pay equity

Most Canadians can only dream of earning a 30-cent-per-cent raise. But last March, that dream became a reality for Linda Barley, a 48-year-old head secretary at Markham High School, just outside Toronto. Barley was one of the first

pay practices that set a prize for those who were earning an average of 60 cents for every dollar earned by Ontario men. The act required the province and its agencies, as well as about 700 large private-sector companies—those with 500 or more employees—to design and imple-

ment in five years. Companies that miss the posting deadline will be investigated and monitored by the Pay Equity Commission and may be ordered by the commission to draw up and post gender-equal plans. In companies with women, employers must negotiate a plan with bargaining-unit committees for all women employees.

Many employees complain about the costs and frustrations that they have endured in developing the plan, but many also praise the Pay Equity Commission last week indicated that most of them will meet the posting deadline. The results of the survey, conducted by Knight Canada Research between Nov. 1 and 15, showed that 81 per cent of those employees will be posting in January. About one in 10 say they will not be posting until between February and November, 1996, while another 11 per cent are still unsure of when they will be posting. Still, many employees complain that drawing up the plans has proven to be an expensive and time-consuming bureaucratic nightmare. Some have said privately that the cost of compliance may even threaten their very viability. Rugged drivers by the complex process, others have already told the province's Pay Equity Commission that they will miss the deadline.

Among those far behind schedule are the 500 hospitals and other health-care facilities that employ Ontario's 197,771 nurses. Said Nurse Anderson, assistant director of government relations at the Ontario Nurses Association: "After almost three years of work, we are not even in the serious negotiation stage with any of the employers. The situation is terrible."

The experts say that, by and large, the employers, or the unions they are required to negotiate with, are not in a hurry to do the job. "People are trying very hard to make pay equity a reality," said Gage Tremblay, a principal consultant with Wilkie & Co. Canada, a Toronto-based personnel consulting firm. "Companies are spending a lot of time, as well as resources, on the process." Consultants estimate that most companies have spent \$100,000 or more on consulting and legal fees, as well as setting up committees full time to draw up their plans. Added Tremblay: "It's being said that pay equity has cost Ontario's employees \$20 million. I'd say that was a conservative estimate."

Still, few employees say that they disagree with the underlying principle of pay equity. Said Whelan McDougall, manager of organization and development in Hamilton-North, a medium-sized regional consultancy in southwestern Ontario that will be posting a pay equity plan for its 700 employees until well into the new year. "No one can deny the justice of pay equity. It's only right that women be paid the



Nurses in Toronto: almost half of Ontario's working women are not eligible to benefit

broadcasting of Ontario's Pay Equity Act, the most dramatic law of its kind in the world. The act, which came into effect on Jan. 2, 1986, requires employers to assess the value of women in selected jobs when they perform a job that is comparable to that men in comparable jobs of similar value. As a result of the public sector, pay equity must be achieved

at least to narrow that gap by the Jan. 1, 1990, deadline.

To achieve pay equity, the act requires the private-sector employers to allocate at least one per cent of their Ontario payroll each year to increase until the pay gap between male and female-dominated jobs are eliminated. In the public sector, pay equity must be achieved

THE GENDER GAP	
Average earnings in Canada in 1996:	
MALE	FEMALE
\$26,236	\$15,054
Average earnings in Ontario in 1996:	
MALE	FEMALE
\$29,143	\$16,738
SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA	

costs plan to narrow that gap by the Jan. 1, 1990, deadline.

Source: Statistics Canada



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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

same as men for work of equal value'

Instead, experts say that the complex legislation itself and a subsequent flood of guidance from the Pay Equity Commission is responsible for the slowdown. Said Drew Mackay, a pay equity specialist with the Toronto-based management consulting firm Towers, Perrin, Foster & Craske: "There's no doubt the law is flawed—it's too vague and too complex. It's causing chaos."

Still, the law has already prevented some substantial increases for women. Late last month, The Ottawa Citizen agreed upon a plan that resulted in increases of up to \$3.57 an hour for 67 of the 406 unionized employees at its newsroom, business offices and distribution department. In one instance, two female editorial receptionists had their salaries raised by \$3.31 per hour to \$16.70, the same amount earned by the male head printer.

But recent rulings by the Pay Equity Tribunal, the arbitration created by the act to settle pay equity disputes, have complicated the task of drawing up the plan. In one of the most contentious cases it has faced, the tribunal agreed with the Ontario Nurses Association last June that police officers and nurses in Halton-Northall had the same employer—the local government. Lawyers for the regional municipality argued that the police were employed by a separate police board, not by the local government itself.

The rule means that the area's mines could be compared to local police officers for the purposes of achieving pay equity—which would result in miners' salaries being raised. That Paul Werning, who acted as counsel for the regional municipality and who is currently appealing the case to the Ontario Court of Appeal, said that the decision "changed the rules of the game for everybody." He added "The wider definition of employer means that many plans that were fished or near completion will have to be reopened. How can people proceed when the rules are changing day to day?"

The difficulties that large employers have faced have raised concerns among owners of medium-sized businesses—defined as having between 100 and 499 employees—who must post their *pay equity* plans no later than next Jan. 1. Judith Andrews, director of provincial affairs for the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, said that, unlike most larger firms, medium-sized companies usually do not

live-in-house experts to deal with pay equity. Nor do they have the thousands of dollars needed to hire outside consultants. So, Andrew, "If the big companies are finding pay equity difficult, can you imagine what a burden it will be for smaller firms?"

And while businesses worry how they will cope, many working women will not receive any benefits at all under the existing legislation. The act covers about 1.2 million of the prevener's 2.2 million female workers. But it does not address about one million women employed in mostly female workplaces, such as libraries and day care centers, where there are no male-dominated jobs that can be used for comparison purposes.

Still, many unions say that they are pleased with the act. San Antonio Public Sector Employees Union pay equity advisor Iola Peters: "We are still in the final stages of negotiations, but we expect final adjustments for many of our 30,000 women members. Pay equity is doing what it was intended to—put money in women's pockets."

Meanwhile, business and labor leaders in other provinces are closely monitoring the impact of the Ontario legislation. So far, Ontario is the only province that has made pay equity mandatory for private employers as well as its own departments and agencies. Within Canada, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have passed pay equity

Earlier: 36-per-cent raise

legislation that covers the public sector, but both the federal government and Quebec are making do with much narrower employment equity schemes, which only respond to complaints from individual employees.

In the United States, Claudia Wayne, executive director of the Washington-based National Committee on Pay Equity, an organization that has been lobbying for fairer pay systems for the past 10 years, said that 20 states have begun to make pay equity adjustments. But only in the public sector. Added Wayne: "There's nothing to compare with the experience in Ontario. There is only one word to describe what is happening there, and that is 'wonderful.'"

Those women who will soon receive increases as a result of the act undoubtedly share in that enthusiasm. But, for many working women in Ontario who are not covered by the legislation, the concept of equal pay for work of equal value will remain a dream unfulfilled.

SPECIAL MEETINGS

BUSINESS WATCH

The looming threat to Gorbachev's power

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

At the evengoing launch of a new year and of a new decade, the shape of our future hangs on the uncertain fate of Mikhail Gorbachev, the capricious reformer who caught history on the move and has turned most of our international assumptions upside down.

During the next 12 months, his class and his intentions will be severely tested as economic realities catch up with political intentions. This will be most dramatically apparent as the Soviet Union's economic satellites rush towards democracy. Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania face horrendous problems trying to revive long-dormant free-enterprise traditions while hurrying to modernise obsolete production and distribution facilities, as well as paying down long-standing national debts.

Ironically, the freely held elections each of these countries will hold to confirm their newly gained democratic status will seriously delay and hamper required economic reforms. Fledgling political parties led by urban-based politicians testing the unknown limits of participation and accountability will understandably hesitate to expose the kind of tough economic disciplines required to salvage their *Rap Van Wildlife* societies. Until those elections are held and each country has a freely elected government in place (which is absent of the park), few structural problems will be corrected.

This will mean a tough transition period and dramatic appeal to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for credit injections and aid programs. Studies are now under way to determine the feasibility of establishing a European equivalent of the Inter-American Development Bank, through which the Washington-based IMF funnels part of its aid funds into Latin America. The pattern of assistance would probably resemble the 1948-1962 Marshall Plan, which rehabilitated the economies of postwar Europe with more than \$12 billion of assistance, covering the same stretch of

The Soviet Union lacks the competitive spirit and risk-taking aptitude required to modernize a beached, state-run economy

boosted their gross national products by 25 per cent or more.

But unlike that massive transfer of funds to technology which was financed and directed by US government agencies, this time it will be more of a European Community effort with much of the direction and money coming from the private sector, though some form of government or ECU guarantees may also be needed.

Those Eastern European economies will be difficult enough to modernize, but the really enormous task will be the transformation of Mother Russia. Having moved directly from tradition to communism 70 years ago, the Soviet Union is possessed of the capitalist ethic with its citizens not bound to the nation that a hard day's work will earn as a worthwhile human activity. There is little individual competition and most of the aptitude for risk-taking required to modernize a backward, state-run economy. Generations of Soviet citizens, usually standing at last for shortly consumed goods have lost a legacy that runs directly counter to the capitalist ideal that rewards the

The most immediate problem is that, even when some African governments do succeed

Such is the nature of restaurants catering to foreign businessmen, there is literally nothing they can buy for their extra rubles. This is due not to runaway inflation but to the acute short age of consumer goods at all levels. Because the ruble has lost its purchasing appeal, it is not difficult for Gorbachev to rally his people behind a market economy. Value of the currency has deteriorated to such a degree that it is no longer treasured as a way of saving for the future. Partly because the currency has ceased to be a binding force, the Soviet Federation, which is a conglomeration of 15 sovereign republics and more than 100 ethnic groups loyal to domestic brands of nationalism rather than a common culture, is bound to fragment.

The hottest pressure on Gorbachev will come not from the political right, but from the left, which has more rich claims, faster. The surge by radical deputies at last month's congress to strip the Communist party of its constitutionally enshrined monopoly support was by a 40-per-cent vote, was the first step in the process. "Most Soviet people don't believe that the Communist party can save the country," the Soviet Union's world news channels Givi Kapanadze recently told a British news reporter. "They hear talk of freedom and reform, but they are so used to the slings. The key question for me is this: Is Gorbachev trying to reform society, or is he just trying to reform the system? I think it's the system and that won't be enough. Because the system itself is the problem."

In his quest for change, Gorbachev faces some serious psychological obstacles. Ever since the 1987 revolution, the behavior of citizens has been either prescribed or isolated; future developments were thought to be either inevitable or impossible. That kind of idealism has produced a rigid code of conduct that is now very difficult to break. The Russian mindset has always been for security, not opportunity. The average Soviet citizen feels very little anxiety it has been, preferring to organize life around sanctioned models of behavior.

Rigid central planning and an apparent inability to master the modern techniques of distribution have left the Soviet economy performing far below its potential. Agriculture has been particularly hard hit by the mobility—and growthiness—of farmers to make the collective system work. (According to a Ukrainian joke, the best way to get rid of fleas is to collectivize them: that way half will die of hunger and the rest will run away.)

Ultimately, the outcome of Mikhail Gorbachev's magnificent gamble will depend to a large degree on how positively and constructively Western democracies attend and reach out to help. At the moment, there is more confusion than sympathy. "Every night for 40 years we walked into the bedroom, opened the closet and looked under the bed to see if we could find a Communist," Florida Democratic Congressman Bart Stupak said recently. "And one day we walked in, and he was in our bed instead. It's very confusing."

Meanwhile, the world is being reinvented as we walk in it.



The SkyDome: 'What a retractable roof does for ticket sales is unbelievable'

ARCHITECTURE

Promoting the dome

Rivals scramble to sell retractable-roof technology

Half an hour's walk from architect Rodrick Robble's cluttered Toronto office stands his massive legacy to his city—Toronto's SkyDome. It is the world's first multipurpose domed stadium with a retractable roof. Since the formal opening on June 3, the SkyDome's 6,995-tan roof has been opened and closed more than 150 times without a hitch. As a result, the home stadium for the American League's Toronto Blue Jays baseball team has become a symbol of Canadian technological ingenuity. Now, the 61-year-old Robble, SkyDome's principal architect, and some of the other architects and engineers involved in the \$260-million stadium complex are engaged in a heated rivalry to sell ideas around the world designs and technology for smaller domes, worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

Although no design contracts have yet been signed, backers of the SkyDome concept are generating potential customers at the United States, Britain, other European countries and Japan. The main selling threat is by Robble's firm of Boston, Young & Wright, which secured up with other competitors in 1992 to form MAN Consultants. But MAN's sales pitch is being challenged by Toronto-based Birklin, Birklin, Beynon Architects, the firm of consultants that recommended Robble's design and acted as the architectural watchdog on behalf of the provincial Crown corporation Stadium Corp. of

Ontario, SkyDome's owner and operator.

At times, the competition between the two groups has taken on an edge of bitterness. Last summer, Robble lodged a complaint with the Ontario Association of Architects's planning that an advertisement placed by Birklin, Birklin, Beynon in the Toronto Globe and Mail's June page gave the impression that the firm designed the stadium. The complaint is still before the association. For his part, Stanley Sasse, project director for Stadium Consultants International Inc., a firm set up by Birklin, Birklin, Beynon, said that his firm was presenting its own patented design for a stadium with a retractable roof—which, he added, "will open in five minutes and is radically different from SkyDome." (The SkyDome takes 20 minutes to open fully.) Meanwhile, both groups have been touring Europe and the United States to hunt for prospective clients. Robble said that an independent board that oversees MANcorp's Metropolitan was considering his proposal to get a retractable roof over the seven-year-old stadium, which has an estimated, as-yet-unfunded concept like that of MANcorp's B.C. Place.

The European market may be difficult to

crack, because domed stadiums almost always have artificial turf and the outdoor's most popular sport, soccer, is played on grass. Robble's proposed solution is a double stadium. The same indoor, roll-out grass field would be used for both stadiums. Moving on steel rollers, the movable field—with grass planted on an eight-foot-wide rail—could travel from a small, open-air stadium into the enclosed larger domed stadium when it was needed for soccer games.

Robble said that he hopes to try out his concept at Leiria, with the construction of "the sport versatile multipurpose stadium in the world." His plans include a hotel, movie theatre, a health club. Robble estimated the cost of the project at almost \$1 billion. Still, British sportsmen were skeptical that the enormous cost of London property would permit such a project to go ahead. In fact, Robble's proposal has met with the most enthusiasm in Birmingham, in central England, and in the Scottish city of Paisley. Said Bryan Bird, a city official who is in charge of Birmingham's leisure committee: "SkyDome is a state-of-the-art and would be a wonderful acquisition."

In Japan, a fierce competition is under way to build retractable domed stadiums. Robble said that, in 1987, MAN sold exclusive rights to its stadium design to the Japanese company Kamegami-Gumi. Since then, Birklin, Birklin, Beynon has teamed up with Tokyo-based Takemura Corp. to enter what it says expects will be a profitable Japanese market for domed stadiums.

Robble says he is convinced that, in the end, domed stadiums with retractable roofs can sell themselves on economic grounds. "What a retractable roof does for ticket sales is unbelievable," said Robble, citing attendance figures at Toronto Blue Jays games as evidence. There, attendance rose to an average of 40,000 per game from an average of 25,000 when the team played in Toronto's Exhibition Stadium. The Blue Jays' attendance figures reached 3,375,863, an American League record. "There's only one belief here, with a full season of SkyDome games," Robble says, "is that the first major league club to reach an attendance level of five million [if Robble and his rivals are successful, the stadium with the retractable roof could replace a new generation of domed buildings in locations far from SkyDome's original home]."



Robble's massive legacy

GENE HADEN

SPORTS

The best defence

Doug Harvey helped change the game of hockey

Doug Harvey, who was named an all-star 11 times during the 21 seasons that he spent in the National Hockey League (NHL), once seemed to care what other people said about him. During the 1950s, when Harvey was a brilliant player for the Montreal Canadiens, fellow hockey players called him one of the best defencemen of his time—perhaps of all time. For his part, Harvey once said a reporter that he did not let his own playing become "I have never seen myself play." In later years, the hard-driving Harvey appeared equally unconcerned when he was confronted by rumors that he was, as one reporter put it, "living in a bottle." Harvey replied: "I don't care what the rest of the world thinks. It's my life." Last week, the man who transformed the role of the defencemen in hockey by helping to score goals, not just prevent them, died after a lengthy illness in a Montreal hospital one week after his 60th birthday.

Born in the sports-conscious west-end Montreal district of Notre-Dame-de-Grace, Harvey was a natural athlete who played some professional football and baseball as well as hockey. He broke into professional hockey with the Canadiens in 1947. During his 14 seasons with the Canadiens, a period when the club also hosted such stars as Maurice (Rocket) Richard and Jean Beliveau, the Canadiens won



Harvey in 1963, controlling the tempo

five consecutive Stanley Cups between 1956 and 1960, a feat unmatched at league history.

Harvey won the Norris Trophy as the NHL's top defencemen seven times. In 1961, after he became active in the recently formed players' association, Harvey was traded to the New York Rangers, where he played for three sea-

soner George Steinbrenner, who hired and fired Martin three times as manager. "It's going to be a while before he replaces. He was one of a kind."

Born in Berkeley, Calif., on May 16, 1926, Martin joined the major leagues with the Yankees in 1950 as a second baseman. During his seven years with the Yankees, the club won three World Series championships. Then, in 1957, Martin and Yankee teammate Mickey Vernon moved to manage a baseball team. Martin, who was once personally charming, was also a talented drinker and a brawler who fought with legends and even his own players during a game. In 1963, during his fourth of five years as manager of the New York Yankees, Martin broke his arm in a squawking fight at a Baltimore hotel with Yankee pitcher Ed Whitson. And last week, Martin, 61, was hit by a special adviser to the Yankees, died on Christmas Day when the police truck in which he was a passenger skidded off an icy road close to his home near Binghamton, N.Y. Said Yankee

Martin later played for five other major league teams before retiring in 1968 as a 1961 with a Denver minor-league team. He was named manager of the Minnesota Twins in 1969. As well, Martin managed the Detroit Tigers (1973-1974), the Texas Rangers (1978-1979) and the Oakland Athletics (1980-1981) between his stints managing the Yankees (1967-1970, 1972, 1963, 1965, 1967-1980), in

sons and coached for a year. Then he played with minor-league teams in St. Paul, Minn., Quebec City, Baltimore and Pittsburgh. With the MLB expansion to 12 teams from six in 1967, Harvey played for the St. Louis Blues. He finally returned from playing at 36 after the age of 64 with a lifetime total of 86 goals and 462 assists. He was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1973.

Harvey also flirted with politics. In 1963, the Progressive Conservatives talked in Harvey about running in the federal election of that year but Harvey turned down the offer. He ran in the 1970 Montreal civic election but lost. In 1973, he served as a scout and assistant coach for the Houston Astros of the World Hockey Association (WHA), where he helped to persuade the Harves family, Gordon and his sons Mark and Marty, to play in the WHA.

For much of his career, Harvey was a heavy drinker. Referring to his prowl for the sufficient alcohol he had by the Quebec league commissioner, Harvey once declared: "When they drop this book into the ground, it won't feel like it's full of alcohol. It's full of alcohol. It's got its own substance."

Many former teammates said that they preferred to remember Harvey's abilities as the son of Tom Johnson, vice president of the Boston Bruins and a fellow defencemen with Harvey on the cup-winning Canadiens, once and that Harvey was convinced as a defencemen in his era and could control the tempo of a game at will. A pained player, Harvey performed the long pass out of his own end and, with Harvey, the Canadiens became so successful on the power play that the NHL changed its regulations so that a penalized team returned to full strength immediately after opponents scored a goal. Harvey's legacy to the game was written in the record book—and the book of rules.

BARBARA WICKENS with correspondence reports

1977, he led the Yankees to a World Series victory against the Los Angeles Dodgers, and Martin took his success home in five divided 1966 and 1967 seasons.

Powerful services for Martin, who died of a fractured neck and embolized spinal column, were held in New York. William Steiner, a Jewish law owner and longtime friend of Martin's who was driving the truck, was charged with driving while intoxicated. Steiner was also seriously injured.

Even people who had fought with Martin and that they were saddened by his death. One was former Yankee outfielder Reggie Jackson. In July, 1978, Martin attacked Jackson by suspending him for five days after the writer accused him of hitting him in a game. Said Jackson last week: "I didn't realize how closely I was tied to Billy until this happened." Clearly, Martin will long be remembered as one of baseball's most talented and colorful personalities.

B. W.

PEOPLE

PREPARING A NEW CHAPTER

To research his new 266-page novel, *The Evening News*, about Persian **terrorists** who kidnap a newspaper's family, Canadian writer Arthur Halloway twice travelled to Paris. Now, Halloway, 69, says that the book's April release will end a chapter in his career. The author of 10 bestsellers, including *Algeria on Hold*, says that he will no longer produce extensively researched books—instead, he will write romances. “We will write that we live now but I take an another major project,” said Halloway. “But I will still write otherwise—it’s like breathing for me.”

Family fate

Chandler Leek Finney, daughter of actors Gordon Pinsent and Charmaine King, says that at first she resisted being the family historian. Instead, she planned to be an archaeologist. When she was a part in the 1984 movie *Big River*, however, she dropped out of high school to study at the University of Toronto to continue a her parents' heritage. But when her parents, Frank, 55, and she, 26, both got the idea to write a book about the step, she can't stop yourself in "A," she added. "And I didn't want to live in a hole in the ground." Five weeks ago, Pinsent left Toronto for Los Angeles, where she now lives, to work in movies. "I don't like L.A. much," says Pinsent. "So people in Canada who are not used to being away from this spring, she will star in the *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* as well as on such actors—She's not sure

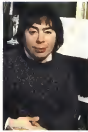
Keywords: university dropout



A COMPOSER'S PHANTOM

brilliant composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, 41, was a millionaire by age 25, but he never received his father's approval, according to writer **Michael Webb**. The author of the newly collected biography *Andrew Lloyd Webber: His Life and Works* writes that **William Webber**, who died in 1982, viewed his son's success only as a painful reminder of his own unfulfilled ambition of being a composer. Lloyd Webber adds that Lloyd Webber's father offered him "little acknowledgment." The result: the composer of such masterpieces as *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *The Phantom of the Opera* still craves respect, writes Webb. The author says that Lloyd Webber has "a kind of 'crusher' and rarely shows any emotion but he is, in fact, a very warm, very loving man." Webb also writes in public. Adds Webb, who spent more than 180 hours interviewing Lloyd Webber: "He holds the world at arm's length, and the more successful he gets, the more he yearns to keep it that way."

Lead Webber: a never-ending search for respect



Agassi: 'I want my music to be fun'

A GOOD-TIME SINGER

Back then like Aaron says that she wants her music to give people a break from worrying about the troubles of the world. "I want it to be light-hearted and fun—nobody needs me to tell them about another forest burning," said the 27-year-old Forest's resident, now on a 40-day cross-Canada tour. Her fans seem to like her attitude: Aaron's recently released fifth record, *Bonnybrook*, has already sold more than 100,000 copies in Canada. Said the singer: "When I was younger, music was my form of escapism, and now I want to provide that for my fans."

Returning to a strange world

During his 14-month break from creating *The Far Side*, cartoonist Gary Larson, 39, says that he would be drawing "like the plague." But now, he says that he is "recharged," and last week he began creating new cartoons, which are syndicated to 900 newspapers worldwide. To get in shape for his return to drawing, Larson said that he did "50 finger push-ups every day for a week." For a cartoonist, working a pencil is a hefty job.

FILMS

Romancing the wars

Military heroism overwhelms two new movies

Few American scenes are as powerful—and undebated—as the stars and stripes. When Bruce Springsteen launched *Born on the U.S.A.* album in 1984, with its image of a blue-collar, blue-state, blue-eyed, blue-eyed patriot standing tall against the flag, night-vision portraits entered the life song in a poignant anthem, despite its sassy message about the war. The album from the New Jersey red-wind and blue-eyed band was used to promote two movies based on true tales of U.S. war heroes. An advertisement for *Glory* shows a cluster of Civil War soldiers standing firm by bayoneted rifles, their flag hoisted in the smoke of battle. Publicity for *Born on the Fourth of July* shows Tim Courteney standing through a veil of stars and stripes. Both films are epic tales of war, but the latter, after the second film, they express reliable, old-fashioned attitudes toward military heroes.

Glory is a elegant tribute to the Civil War's first black regiment, men who served as Union combat leaders in a racist's army. As Confederates flee, beautifully filmed and wisely scored, the movie sheds light on the southern's role of 180,000 blacks who eventually signed up with the Union forces. But Glory trains war with such reverential zeal that it creates as many myths as it shatters. Meanwhile, *Rare* on the Fourth of July regains the wounds of Vietnam, with about as much subtlety as a fragmentation bomb. A relentless melodrama, it laments the myth of the American war hero with such a heavy hand that, at the end, the exercise seems as pointless and wasteful as the war itself.

Directed by Edward Zwick, creator of *The Magnificent Seven*, *Glen* brings a significant chapter of black-American history to the screen. It is the story of a young man, a Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry on his first day of boot camp, who is befriended by a young white soldier, Robert Gould Shaw (Matthew Reisterer). A glimpse into the life of the upper class, Shaw gradually understands his prejudices to champion the cause of his regiment. His efforts to get these others, then, friends and family included. Although Shaw's fellow soldiers are not all white, they are not all black either, his men ultimately prove to be gallant fighters. Forming the first line of a black-led march on South Carolina's Fort Wagner in 1863, at least half the regiment is killed.

The battle scenes are graphically brutal yet lyrical. In *Glen*, we see equal parts hell and heaven. For the black soldiers, the struggle against the South becomes a crusade for emancipation. For the white soldiers, it is a quest for saving "remnants of spiritual man and patriotic states." Zwick understands the subtleties of

the rest of his film. The director also under-
plays the cost that makes *Glory* distinctive:
Mack race. Two remarkable actors lead an
impressive ensemble—Dennis Washington as
a decorated runaway slave and Morgan Free-
man as a grizzled veteran who rises to the rank of
sergeant major. All perform brilliantly, but
their dialogue seems to be graily rehearsed.



Washington (second from left): a black regiment used as Union cannon fodder

while Broderick's less interesting character, Shaw, dominates the movie as a General figure whose sacrifice serves as their inspiration.

Gleeson's a significant step in recognizing the contributions of blacks to American history but, shoring its story through a white lens and a glass of jingoistic sentiment, it makes unnecessary concessions to Hollywood tradition. In a letter to his mother, Shaw writes, "We fight for men and women whose poetry is not yet written." In Shaw's spirit, *Gleeson* fights for those whose movies are not yet made—and wins a limited victory.

The "poetry" of Vietnam, meanwhile, has been overwritten by Hollywood. And we have *Born on the Fourth of July*, the most successful example of the Vietnam trauma, director Oliver Stone, in back with a vengeance. Stone scored a major hit and four Oscars with his 1986 war-told drama, *Platoon*. But his new movie makes *Platoon* look like a walk in the park.

Based on a 1976 autobiography by Hoa Kieu, a crippled Vietnam veteran who became an ardent opponent of the war, *Born on the Fourth of July* has less than 90 minutes of Vietnam scenes. But they form a harrowing sequence in which Kieu (Don Cramer) takes part in a civilian massacre, inadvertently kills one of his own men and is severely wounded. Paralysed from the chest down, he returns home to discover that war heroes are out of fashion. Ironically, Kieu passes through stages of bitterness, rage and despair before brave efforts as an outdoor hero.

Although it is a different story, *Born on the Fourth of July* is Stone's unofficial sequel to *Platoon*. He returns two of *Platoon*'s stars, Willem Dafoe and Tom Berenger, for supporting roles. He also recovers *Platoon*'s pulsation rhythm of sentiment and shock—from the sweet Vietnam sunsets and pulchre sound track to the images of delicious violence. They

are seething shots of slow-motion gore, bones protruding from flesh, bodies twisting in a state-induced veterans hospital. And the psychological drama is almost as visceral.

Cruze is admirably well at the conventions. By casting her, Stone gloriously deconstructs an all-American archetype: Cruze's Koze utilizes a handsome face with a scrappy beard and utilizes a torrent of obscenities against his mother. The actor gives a truly, if not perfectly, that makes him an obvious Oscar candidate. But his sacrifice is squandered. By the end of Stone's 140-minute ordeal, it becomes gruesomely clear that the movie is in itself of little use. And, as another protest, *Stone on the Fourth of July* is too much, too late. Cruze's vision is much nobler. But, as opposite ways, both movies are blotted by America's reverence with violence.

RELEASE TO JOURNALISTS

THEATRE

Pleasure palaces

Two vaudeville houses rekindle their magic

In its headlong pursuit of growth, Toronto has often dealt brutally with its past. Many historic buildings have fallen to the wreckers' ball, to be replaced by something bigger, starker and, the developers hope, more profitable. But now, the three levels of government, with help from the private sector, have made partial amends with the reopening of the Elgin and Winter Garden theatres, lavishly restored at a cost of \$23 million.

It began eight years ago when the Ontario government, realising the value of the district, 75-year-old former vaudeville houses, granted them from Famous Players Corp. Since then, in order to bring the Elgin and Winter Garden to their original state of 19th-century glitz, the federal and provincial governments contributed \$15 million and the city of Toronto \$7 million towards renovations, with corporations, historical organizations and individuals kicking in \$7 million (\$4 million of which is still being raised). Work was finished on the elegant, ground-level Elgin Theatre in time for the 1985 opening of Cats. And now, with the

completion of the even more ornate Winter Garden upstairs from the Elgin, Torontoans and visitors again have access to two impressive and highly appointed theatres that evoke the professions of another era. Indeed, crowding in last month to watch the opening of *The Wizard of Oz* by the Elgin and the musical *Sole by Star* by Seawards and *The Wizard Show* in the Winter Garden could almost catch the echo of audiences past, who thrilled to performances by George Burns and Gracie Allen and other vaudevillians.

The restoration was a gargantuan effort. Going through the theatres required more than 300,000 water-dust sheets of aluminum lead—an amount of lead that would normally be imported into Canada over a 16-year period. And more than 20,000 square feet of surfaces throughout the theatres were hand-painted to resemble marble. But the Elgin-Winter Garden complex is not the only Toronto theatrical establishment to have made a grand comeback in 1986. Last autumn, movie and theatre mogul Garth Drabinsky reopened the nearby Pa-

nacone theatre with the musical *The Phantom of the Opera*. The Portage, an ornately gilded vaudeville theatre that first opened in 1903, had become a movie house, called the Imperial Theatre, until Drabinsky acquired the building.

Along with retailer Ed Mirvish's 53-year-old Royal Alexandra Theatre, where *Les Misérables* is now in its 10th month, the reopening gives Toronto four historic theatres capable of handling large shows. They are now in fierce competition for audiences and, to some extent, shows, among themselves and with the city's huge, 3,167-seat O'Keefe Centre and with roughly two dozen smaller theatres. In fact, ticket sales for the three newest shows have been sluggish. Vaudevillians, which played only in summer, is to close on Jan. 6, while *Sole by Star* by Seawards runs until March 2 and *The Wizard of Oz* until March 31. Theatrical producers Marlene Smith and Ernest Rubenstein, partners in 7071 Property Management Corp., which runs the complex, say that their strategy for subsequent bookings is to remain as close to the echo of the vaudeville as possible. "Some of the smaller theatres try to create the public taste, but we try to react to it," said Rubenstein. He added, laughing, "It's today's market that means doing family-neighborhood type shows where you can't go too far."

In gearing their program to mass appeal, the partners have tradition on their side. After the U.S.-born Loew's theatre chain completed construction of the Elgin and Winter Garden at the eve of the First World War—at a cost of \$500,000—the theatres featured mostly vaudeville, then the most popular form of entertainment in North America. In a typical show, famous headliners, including living Bio-

Scenes from *The Wizard of Oz* (left) and the Winter Garden echoes of performances by vaudevillians past

lin and Seggie Tucker, alternated with an eclectic stream of novelty acts, including "Rhapsody, the soul with the human brain" and "Dinozo Ritter, the man who wrestles with himself." But tastes changed with the arrival of the "talkies." And in the late 1930s, the lower theatre became a movie house. Then, in 1977, the Winter Garden, with its intimate interior of painted flowers and real leaves dangling from the ceiling, closed its doors.

By the late 1970s, the Elgin had fallen on hard times, playing B-movies. Physically deteriorating, it finally closed in 1981. But the Ontario Heritage Foundation, an agency of the provincial government's ministry of culture and communications, came to the rescue. Architectural technologist Jane Barlow was hired by the foundation to oversee the restoration. Said Barlow: "The place could very easily have been torn down or subdivided into small condominiums. Fortunately, the Ontario Heritage Foundation saw its value. It was a real act of vision."

In 1984, the foundation gave theatre producer Smith, Rubenstein and their then-partner, Tim Vanderbruggen, the right to mount *Cats* at the Elgin. Rubenstein took on the Elgin began that year, and by the time the show opened in 1985, the theatre had been appraised and the lobby of the complex had been restored. Restoration of the Elgin continued after *Cats* closed in 1987. In some places, workers had to dig away as many as 37 layers of paint to get to the original finishes of bright painted colors. But they carried out the restoration so meticulously that they even preserved the markings of the original. In a series of plaques

commemorating great playwrights and composers, the name *Loew* is still inscribed as "Loew," as it was by the original workmen.

While *Cats* ran downstairs, restoration began seven flights above at the Winter Garden. According to Barlow, one of the biggest problems was to find a way to clean the elaborate tile mosaic without knocking their water-based paint. "Our chief restorer, David Hancock, hit on the solution of using bread dough," Barlow said. "When you roll lumps of dough over the walls, it picks up the grime and leaves the paint behind. One of the biggest bills we had to pay was for 24,000 lb. of flour." The restoration crew also replaced the crumbling, blackened, painted brick beams that formed a decorative canopy hanging from the ceiling of the theatre with 12,000 new beams, sealed in a glass and fire-proofed.

Smith and Rubenstein, whom the Ontario Heritage Foundation chose in 1983 to run the complex, settled on *Sole by Star* by Seawards to open the 660-seat Winter Garden. The light-hearted show features a medley of songs from such Stephen Sondheim shows as *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* and *Company*. Three singers—American Davis Gaines and Canadian Kathy Michael McGlynn and Karen K. Wilson—handle all the parts. The performers seem entirely to be at ease at first. But, as they settle into their roles, they produce some winning scenes. Sondheim sets down a good home here in the tension in male-female relations, and such numbers as *Getting Married Today*, from *Company*, are laced with acidic candor. Other songs, such as

Edna's and McGlynn's teasing duet, *Cats* that *Boy* from *Boys*, from *Kismet*, are striking examples of Sondheim's patented ruminations.

Meanwhile, downstairs, *The Wizard of Oz* has taken over the 1,535-seat Elgin, and the provincially Canadian production gets audiences over the rainbow. Karen Egus is whimsical and convincing as Dorothy, the Kansas farm girl who is abducted by a tornado and set down in a fantasy land. She may cut her tongue over the rainbow. Her right as well as her anxiety and chaos to her role.

Some of the shows scheduled to follow represent programming struggles for Smith and Rubenstein. In April, Jerry Berner's recent off-Broadway hit, *Other People's Money*, will have its Canadian premiere at the Elgin. Then, in June, London's acclaimed *Reverence* Theatre Company will present *King Lear* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the theatre. The latest of the company in Toronto is *Boys*, director and star of the current, scintillating *Kismet* of Henry F. As part of Smith's and Rubenstein's commitment to 80-per-cent Canadian productions, the 1977 Canadian musical *The Legend of the Damned* will open at the Winter Garden in April. For now, the two theatres are offering productions in keeping with their popular, song-and-dance tradition. Like *The Wizard of Oz*, the Elgin and Winter Garden theatres are likely to go on enduring for a long time to come.

JUDE BEMKHOE with PAMELA YOUNG in Toronto

The boys of winter

Two books stickhandle into hockey territory

Hockey is deeply embedded in the Canadian consciousness, its stories, myths, and thunderous battles part of a collective mythology. Surprisingly, books about hockey tradition have offered little insight into the game's cultural context, catering in-

stead to the interests of the devoted fan. One of this season's notable hockey releases, *After the Applepie* by Gordie and Colleen Howe and Charles Wilson McCrelland and Stewart, \$24.95, fits that mold all too well. But another, *Home Game*, written by former Montreal

Canadiens goaltender Ken Dryden and journalist Ray MacGregor McCrelland and Stewart, \$24.95, is a welcome departure from the stuffy bandy that typifies most sports-related nonfiction.

In their companion volume to a forthcoming CBC documentary series, Dryden and MacGregor take on the formidable challenge of explaining how and why the sport, with its incongruous blend of grit and boogie power, has come to mean so much to this country. Specifically, the authors begin their explorations in the game's now-constant grassroots journeying in the dust of winter to Saskatchewan—a province with four times as many snow-covered miles as the Soviet Union—they depict the sport through the eyes of small-town community leaders scrambling to find funds for a rink, even as a 15-year-old future player is left out of net, starlines and a future retrospective on a quackish campaign to lure a big-league franchise to Saskatoon. For each hockey vignette is soaked in a better future. And like religion in times past, hockey also binds communities separated by cultural differences and divided by the anonymity of the last mile.

Such conclusions may not qualify as revelations in their own right. But *Home Game's* insights are accompanied by remarkably vivid glimpses into the lives of Canadian instantly connected with the sport. The authors examine the competitive pressures within the minor-league system, taking the reader into the bedrooms of a 13-year-old pee-wee-league star pursuing mental-emergency prescriptions by his onlooker coach. Elsewhere, they peer behind the scenes of a game between the Canadiens and the Montreal Oilers, recognizing the murky complexity of the emotions driving both teams. And their account of the Oilers' frustrating attempts to compensate for Wayne Gretzky's absence grows credibility to the claim that *Alley Oop!* as Canada is the country's "largest running dream store."

Hockey, the authors remark, is also big business, moving increasingly beyond the control of its late Tysons such as Oilers owner Peter Pocklington, who sold Gretzky to the Los Angeles Kings for \$13 million in 1988, effectively a compromise that a hockey team is a compact among owners, players and fans. And their casual ledger decision to trade hometown heroes or to move franchises to more lucrative markets can leave supporters feeling betrayed. Still, the vicissitudes of a true hockey-lever services all adversity. The authors themselves are a case in point: both have had their enthusiasm rekindled by playing old-timers hockey. "Not so much an escape from real life," writes Dryden, "as hockey was fully, 'It is an escape, is like us with it to be."

Like hockey itself, *Home Game* succeeds because it sticks to such strong feelings. By contrast, *After the Applepie* is an entertaining but unexciting assemblage of anecdotes with former hockey greats and their wives. Its rewards are chiefly for the faithful. Still, both books are testimony to the appeal of a sport that has grown into a national passion.

DAVID TORO

OBITUARY

Terrible beauty

Samuel Beckett gave voice to modern anguish

When he won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1968, the critics declared that his work "has transcended the distinction of modern man into his existence." Although deeply pessimistic, Samuel Beckett's writing is shot through with gallows humor and is a very testimony to the dignity of mankind. His most famous play, the bloody comic *Waiting for Godot* (1952), satirized modern theatre,

refused the meaning of artistic integrity.

Beckett often deflected prospective biographers by telling them that his life was "desert of scenery." Few would agree. In 1906, he was staid, almost stately, by a Paris publisher. A pious Catholic, Suzanne Deschamps-Daniels, took great care to save his life. They became lifelong companions, eventually marrying in 1961. During the Mass occupation of France, they elected to remain in the country



Beckett: shy, pessimistic and austere, modest

Beckett spent most of his working life in Paris, writing in French. But Ireland was his native home, and its first sensuality, humor and seasonal lightness his personality and his work. Said Toronto artist Sorel Bragg, who illustrated Beckett's 1966 book *Language of One's Language* and later became a personal friend: "This didn't speak a lot. He didn't make jokes, though he would make them. There was an Irishman in him, and a Proustian—and, of course, the presence of a Ben Bledsoe."

Born in Dublin in 1906, he was the second son of William Beckett, a surveyor, and his wife, Mary, a former nurse. Beckett always maintained that he had had a happy childhood, although given his laterality, plenty outside, that is difficult to accept at face value. He was a brilliant student, winning foreign languages at Trinity College, Dublin, and eventually graduating with a master of arts degree in 1931. Rejecting an academic career, in 1937 he settled permanently in Paris. There, he became an outcast and drinking companion of the great Irish novelist James Joyce. Although Joyce's lack of a language contrasted with Beckett's natural openness, the elder writer had a powerful impact on Beckett. Beckett once said, "He made me

see, spend the entire house waiting for someone called Godot—who never arrives."

The play's ironic quality and almost absolute outlook belied some early reviewers and attracted many critics. But a few perceptive commentators realized that Beckett, more than any previous writer, had given voice to the anguish of the 20th century, with its wars, mass extinctions and spiritual emptiness. Greeted by a classic and a strong influence on such major playwrights as Brecht, Harold Pinter and Tom Stoppard and American David Mamet.

Godot and the plays that followed often made extraordinary demands on performers. Canadian actress Martha Henry says that she found her role in a 1965 Toronto production of Beckett's 1968 drama, *Murphy* (1938), in which she had to stand before her neck in a stand—so arduous that it contributed to her decision to give up acting. "Beckett allows no placarding," she said, "no attempt to put in something extra to make the lines interesting and heavy in the audience. You have to confine yourself to what he'll give you—nothing else exists."

Beckett wrote less as the years went on, always relying his vision to fewer words, more telling silences. The change with which he defied his own chronic depression was the same delicate touch that kept his characters going. As the narrator of *The Unnamable* says in the book's last sentence, "You said go on, I can't go on, I'll go on." Now, Beckett himself has dropped by the wayside, but the spare and terrible beauty of his works offers solace for those who must continue.

JOHN BEMROSE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Silence Gundy: War Hero*, Barker (2)
- 2 *President's Privileges*, Eze (75)
- 3 *Smiley*, Shaw (2)
- 4 *Caribbean*, Mithras (3)
- 5 *The Dark Half*, King (5)
- 6 *Clear and Present Danger*, Clancy (4)
- 7 *Spy Game*, Dryden
- 8 *Remember to Breathe and the Kid*, Whelan
- 9 *A Natural Curiosity*, Doolittle
- 10 *The Successors of Darwin*, Edging (5)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Home Game*, Dryden and MacGregor (26)
- 2 *Secrets of the Sea*, Lawrence (2)
- 3 *After the Applepie*, Howe, How and Wilson (7)
- 4 *A Wonderful Life*, Gould
- 5 *Is a Canadian Doctor, Eaton and Wilson (5)*
- 6 *Inventing the Future*, Smith
- 7 *Offshore Inside Out*, Connors (6)
- 8 *The Science of Everyday Life*, Segal (5)
- 9 *Birth of a Nation*, Hollingshead (2)
- 10 *Newsweek*, Burr (1)

(1) *Frontier Star*, 10 issue

Compiled by Brian Bellone

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A better way of electing our leaders

BY STEWART MacLEOD

As we look forward to Jan's Liberal leadership convention in Calgary, where the vested bulls would eliminate world poverty, we must reluctantly conclude that the microphone-caper at the New Democratic leadership convention had its downside.

The upside, of course, was obvious—one damned fine television program. But the downside is more profound, not to mention boring. After what happened to Ronson de Jong and a few select cellular satellites, it could be considered before we find delegates of any party willing to strap on the tiny scales for the sake of microphone-pellicled mangled couch potatoes.

Can you imagine, say, Joan Chisholm allowing herself to be overheard adding his mother how he should rise if he happens to be trailing Tim Waples on the first ballot? Or Paul Martin Jr., languishing for the position of party whip—in Sloan did with Dave Barrett, apparently ideologically unaware it's an elected position, not available for the leader to offer.

Roadside while I waited for coffee than it: "It's a yawn fest." But then, it didn't last long and, as Brian Colman's Jim Falton remarked—after removing his own make—"We may be asleep, but not so asleep as to ever die that again."

More's the pity, not only because the chic enjoyment when we would effectively rule as all succeeding delegates, party to everything going on, it would be drastically after the process of surviving political conventions.

And Lord knows, some alterations are needed. What we have now are media conventions, spaced up by periodic comments from barbed-out party mortars and occasionally interrupted by a delegate, or even a candidate, or he or she can pole a lead through the electoral rubble.

Thus, if we go back to the beginning, in the downside of the Waples-Caper. There are going to be so many post-mortems performed

After waiting 14 years for a party to change leaders, we could wait an extra four minutes for the results

on the Case of the Forgotten Mikos that, once this is laid aside, no one will guess long enough to gear at the big picture.

The fact is, the situation is completely out of hand—the media, particularly television, have become an intrusive monster, flooding the event they are supposed to objectively observe. No other people in the world, even the heinous American, are forced to go through a battalion of reporters and technicians to deliver leader role in a potential leader in need of a deputy, whip, finance officer or war rater.

"Kase where I can find a 'messenger'?" asked a delegate in a Winnipeg convention corridor. "I have to find out what the hell is going on in here," he couldn't think through the battle-fronted Signals Corps to talk to anyone in the know.

There were over 800 media people there to cover the coronation of a new NC leader who, having a military intervention by Socialist International, will never see the back porch of Stoneybrook, let alone the front entrance to 24 Sussex Drive. And, as gendarmes prevailed on the convention floor, we had a phalanx of grand commentators having delightful difficulties telling us what it all meant. Naturally this required creative diagnosis.

Wouldn't you really prefer that the convention floor be left to delegates? With candidates and their entourage free to roam around and actually talk to each other? The dreaded media could be off in their circles, pressing at the manipulations and waiting for eager delegates to come to them to cluster into real microphones. And, being politicians, you had better believe they would come!

After waiting 14 years for a party to change leaders, we could probably learn to handle an extra four minutes without the unethical results. Imagine what it would do for the longevity of reporters who, with countless hours to kill, must coast to some questions that would make your average lifetime sportscaster as accurate as a Nobel Prize in verbiage. More and more, conventions are becoming like television's invasion of the winning dressing room after a Gey Cup victory.

"Her, over here Dave. Tell me, where do you expect your support to come from?"

"From the delegates."

"Lord, it was great to get that crude information."

"Tell me, sir, how do you feel right now?"

was the question.

"How do you feel right now?" was the reply. Marvelous to know there is so much concern for the well-being of others at these meetings. It would be interesting though if, just once, someone would feel disappointed, discouraged or even degraded.

But then, we've been waiting for years for a football player to come out of the showers and tell us what he was really thinking while wearing the Gey Cup.

"Tell me, Sir, when, exactly what was going through your mind as you stared that impossible pass and knew there was nothing but daylight between you and the goalpost?"

"At that precise moment, to the best of my recollection, I was wondering whether the Church of Scientology accepts such acts."

Don't wait for it, either in sports or in politics. Not so long as both are overcovered, overanalyzed and, more often than not, overruled.

It's out of control. Leadership conventions have become a war zone. And it's all so unnecessary. All a political party has to do is swallow hard, declare that no media be allowed on the convention floor from the first ballot to the election of a new leader, and let the chips fall where they may.

We'll miss it all from overhead shots. No one will be allowed, padded or hurt. Key delegates will come knocking outside doors to explain it all to a waiting word. Cool commentary, with the necessary addition of some well-informed guessing, could once become less again. And delegates wouldn't have to go back to hotel rooms to find out what they're supposed to support on the next ballot.

What we're proposing, I suppose, is a real political leadership convention. And should the Liberals try it in Calgary, in this era of satellites, they might get a real look out of it.

Allen Fotheringham is in Toronto.



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